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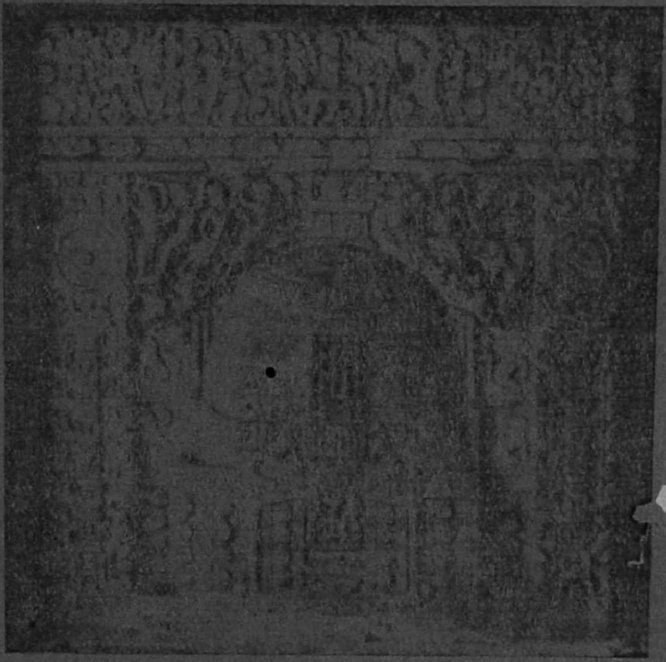

Amaravati Sculpture depicting a Stupa.

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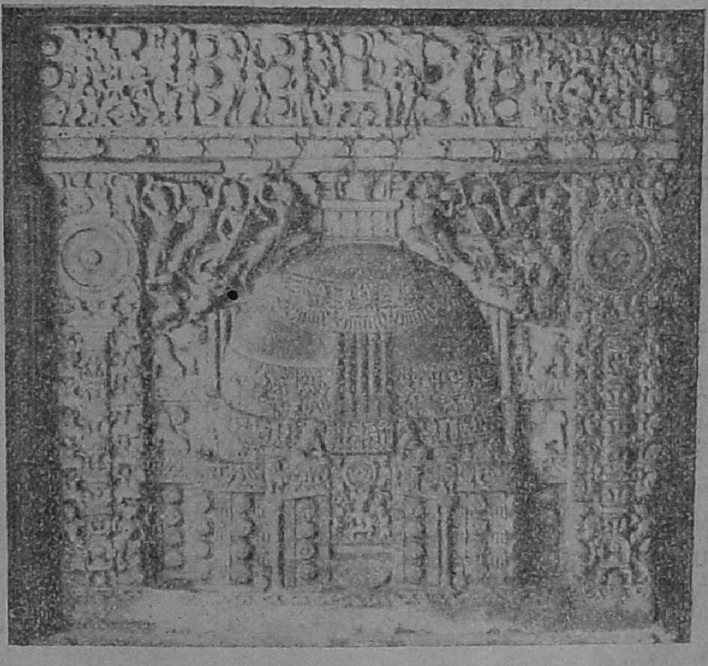

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CONTENTS.

8. History of the Velnāḍu Chiefs.
M. RAMA RAO, B,A. (HONS) M.R.A.S. 65—72

9. Studies in Vijayanagar Polity.
K. ISWAR DUTT, B.A., (Local Fund Audit Dept.) 73—83

10. Bāpatla Kaifiyat.
R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T. 84

11. Education in Ancient India.
K, VENKATAPPAYYA, B.A.,B.L., BED. 85—90

12. Amaravati, From A.D. 100 to 700.
PROF. G. JOUVEAU DUBREIUL. 91—92

13. A Study of the Telugu Roots.
DR. C. NARAYANA RAO, M.A. L.T., PH.D. 34—100

14. Sātalūru Copper Plate Grant of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III.
BHAVARAJ V. KRISHNA RAO, B.A., B.L. 101—116

15. Stone Inscription near Siva temple at Santa Bommāḷi.
SRI SRI SRI LAKSHMINARAYANA HARICHANDAN
JAGADEB RAJA BAHADUR, TEKKALI. 117—118

16. Gautamiputra Satakarni.
R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T. 119—122

17. Ballāḷa III. and Vijayanagara.
DR. N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M.A., PH.D. 124—136

Reviews. 137—138

446

JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Volume V. October, 1930. Part 2.

HISTORY OF THE VELNADU CHIEFS.

M. RAMA RAO, B.A. (HONS.), M.R.A.S.

These chiefs played a prominent part in the history of the Telugu country for about a century between A. D. 1080—1186. Their importance lies in the fact that they held the Telugu country from the southern banks of the Godavari down to Nellore from the time of the accesion of Kulōttunga and handed over the sovereignty of the country to the Kākatiyas of Warangal. Thus they form a link between the Eastern Chālukyas and the Kākatiyas in the history of the Telugu country.

EARLY ANCESTRY:—Like many other dynasties, the Velnāḍu chiefs trace their ancestry from super-human beings. The following gods figure in it.[1]

Vishṇu.
|
Brahma.
|
Chandra.
|
Budha.

1 No. 736 of *S. I. I,* IV.

The Piṭhāpuraṁ pillar inscription[2] supplies the names of the ancestors of the family. The first person Indrasēna is said to have been adopted by Yudhishṭira and ruled at Kīrtipura in the Madhyadēśa. After an interval of unspecified duration came Kīrtivarman I. after another came Mallavarman, his son Raṇa Durjaya I., his son Kīrtivarman II., his son Raṇa Durjaya II. and his son Kīrtivarman III. It is not possible to locate this Kīrtipura. Kīrtivarman is distinctly a Western Chālukyan name while Raṇadurjaya sounds more like a title. It may not be wrong if we suppose that the ancestors of this family might have migrated from the west into the Telugu Country either during or in the wake of the invasions of Pulikēśin II. and the establishment of the Vēngi branch of the Chālukyan House. The names of these early ancestors indicate it. Kirtivarman III's son was Malla I. who having helped Trilōchana Pallava obtained possession of the Six Thousand country.[3] The first reliable historical person of this family seems to be Meliya or

2 The following is the geneology of the Velnadu chiefs. The geneology will be discussed at full length in a separate paper See *Ep. Ind.* IV. 35; *Ep, Ind,* IV, 270

143707

Malla I
Eriyavarman
Kudyavarman I
Malla II
Kudyavarman II
Erraya
Nanni Raja

Malla | Panda | Vedura I | Ganda | Gonka I

Vedura II

Choda I
Gonka II
Choda II
Gonka III
Prithvisvara

3 చతుర్థవంశే శ్చతురాననస్య॥
వంశేస్మిన్ .... శ్రీమల్లభూపోజని
యేనత్ర్యంబక పల్లవాద్రణ శిరస్సాహాయ్యకారాధితాత్
ప్రాప్తోయం వెలనాండు నామవిషయ స్సామంత చిహ్నైస్సహ॥

S. I. I., IV. No 1141

Malla II.[4], who was a follower and vassal of the Eastern Chālukyan king Chālukya Bhīma II. From this time the Velnāḍu Chiefs rise to prominence under the succeeding Chālukyan rulers of Vēngi as generals and ministers. Eṛiya or Eṛiyavarman was a servant of Vishṇuvardhana who is perhaps identical with Tāḷarāja (A.D. 970). Kuḍyavarman II. was a subordinate of Vimalāditya (A.D. 1011—1022) and ruled over the district of Gudrahāra as a vassal.[5] Nannirāja, his grandson according to one source and brother according to another, was a general of the great Rājarāja, the patron of the Telugu poet Nannaya. The death of Rājarāja made remarkable changes in the history of both the Chālukyan and the Velnāḍu families.

RISE TO POWER. Soon after the death of Rājarāja, there was chaos in the Vēngi country. His brother Vijayāditya usurped the throne and drove away Rājēndra the heir-apparent. At this juncture Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chālukyan monarch invaded Vēngi and subjugated the usurper. Mean while the dispossessed prince gathered forces and inflicted a crushing defeat on his uncle but pardoned him. The Chōḷa king Rajēndradēva died at this time and the young prince set his eyes on the Chōḷa throne. Having reinstated his uncle as viceroy of Vēngi, Rājēndra went to the south, and after strenuous fighting ascended the throne in A.D. 1070 under the title of Kutottunga I. Vijayāditya died in A. D. 1077 and from that date the Emperor was sending his sons as viceroys to Vēngi.[6] This afforded a splendid opportunity for the rise of the Velnāḍu Chieftains. As generals and ministers of these viceroys, they were the *de facto* sovereigns in Vēngi. From the time of Vikrāma Chōḷa even this system of sending viceroys was discontinued and the Velnāḍu Chiefs were free.

During the second viceroyalty of Vīrachōḍa we hear that the Velnāḍu chief Vedura II. was his minister. By A. D. 1118 Vikramachōḍa the last of the viceroys left for the South, Taking advantage of this, Vikramaditya VI. invaded Vēngi and temporarily reduced the Velnāḍu chiefs to subjection. However, by 1124 Vikramachōḷa seems to have re-conquered it. Vedura II. mentioned above so pleased his overlord by defeating a Pāndyan king that Vikramachōḷa rewarded him with the over-lordship of the territory between the Godavari and the Krishṇa.[7]

4 No 1182 of *S. I. I.* IV.

5 *Ep. Ind.* IV. p. 32,

6 Viceroys over Vengi under Kulottunga I.

Vijayaditya	1070—1077
Rajaraja	1077—1078
Virachoda	1078—1084
Rajaraja Choda Gangu	1084—1088
Virachoda	1088—1093
Vikramachoda	1093 -1113

7 *Ep. Ind.* IV. p. 32

136 66/70

GONKA I., A.D. 1076—1117. Gonka is said to have rendered his overlord significant service in the field of war and got reaffirmed as ruler of the 6000 country.[8] He was an ardent devotee of Śiva a good patron of learning.[9] The *Kēyūrabāhucharitraṁ* speaks highly of his valour and enlightenment as its does about the political skill of his minister Naṇḍūri Gōvindāmātya. Prōlināyaka was the governor of Dharaṇikōṭa under Gonka I.[10]

CHODA I., A.D. 1117—1132. Gonka I. was succeeded by his son Chōḍa I. who is variously known as Kulōttunga Rājēndra Chōḍa or Chōḍa Rāja. During the last days, the emperor Kulōttunga is said to have adopted Chōḍa I. and treated him as his own son and confirmed on him the rulership of Vēngi. From the *Kēyūrabāhu charitraṁ* we know that his minister was Kommana son of Gōvindāmātya, his father's minister. Another of his ministers was a certain Nārāyaṇa. This king is said to have had nine lakhs of money, ninety nine sturdy elephants and four thousand swift horses. It is important to note that the Western Chālukyan invasion of Vēngi and its subsequent reconquest by Vikrama-chōḷa took place in this reign.[11] The Velnāḍu chief came into conflict with the Telugu Chōḍas for the first time in the reign of Chōḍa I, for one of his subordinates—Kāpa of Tūṁbaṟṟu—claims to have defeated a Siddhi Bēta.[12] A chieftain of that name appears in the Telugu Chōḍa geneology as Bēta I. We also notice for the first time that the Manḍādi chiefs were vassals of the Velnāḍu rulers.

GONKA II., A.D. 1132—1163, Gonka II. succeeded his father Chōḍa I. He was the most independent and glorious member of the family. He

8 వీరశ్రేష్ఠ శ్రీకులోత్తుంగ చోడ......రాజరాజాత్మజస్య॥
సంగ్రామసాహాయ్య మనుష్ఠితత్వాత్ శ్రీరాజరాజప్రథవాన్నృపేంద్రః।
యష్షట్సహస్రావని మండలాధి పత్యం సమాసాద్య చిరంభునక్తి॥
S. I. I,, IV. No 1165,

9 మల్లస్వానే త్రేమకర్ణాగుణాంకః గొంకో విద్వత్పంకజాళీమృగాంకః।
S. I. I., IV. No. 1165.

10 List of Antiquities p. 64. No. 6.

11 This was in or about A. D. 1120. Inscriptions from Draksharama prove that the Western Chalukyas were in the Vengi country beteen A. D. 1120—1124 Nos. 331, 207 & 258 of 1893. *S, I. I.* vol. IV.

12 No. 441 of 1918. This identification of Siddhi Beta with Beta I and the theory of rivalry between the Telugu Cholas and the Velnadu line is supported by No. 143 of 897 which mentions a title of Choda I. as—"చోళక్షితిపతి ప్రాకార నామాంకితః" which literaly means 'one whose name was engraved on the walls of the Chola King." The Chola referred to could not be the Chola Emperor because Choda I, was his vassal and adopted son. Hence this title should only indicate a defeat inflicted by Choda I, on the Telugu Chodas.

extended his territory widely, and had an excellent system of administration. In this reign the Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi chiefs became vassals of the Velnāḍu family.[13] A Drākshārāma record enumerating Gonka's titles,[14] suggests that perhaps he was also at war with the Telugu Chōḍas to the south of his dominions. Inscriptions and the *Kēyūrabāhucharitram* are agreed in telling us that Kommana son of Nanḍūri Govindāmātya was the minister and *Sandhivigrahin* of Gonka and one of the mainstays of his kingdom.[15] Kommiseṭṭi a *Śēnādhipati* made many charities to the Bāpaṭla temple [16] while another officer of the king built the Ballīs'vara temple at Koṭyadona the capital of the Telugu Chōḍas.[17] This shows the extent of Gonka's influence over the Telugu Chōḍa chieftains. Iśāna preggaḍa, a brahmin minister is said to have built the Surēśvara temple at Kāreṁpūḍi.[18] His other charities are brought to light by an inscription at Pedakodamagunḍla which tells us that he endowed the taxes of *Perunjunka* and *Vaḍḍarāvula* on the local temple for the maintenence of students and ascetics.[19] Two generals *Danḍanāyaka* Panḍa the maternal uncle of the king and *Danḍanāyaka* Chōḍa the "*maṟandi*" or brother-in-law of the king-, were very active in the reign of Gonka. Chōḍā's son was the general Gonka who is said to have defended the town of of Kroccheṟuvu against the attacks of Karnāṭa cavalry numbering 30,000. Commenting upon this incident Epigraphists say,—"This was a period of decline for the Western Chālukyas of Kalyān. Taila III died in A.D. 1163 and his successor Sōmēśvara IV, was a weak ruler. The entire power was in the hands of the general Bijjala. The fight at Kroccheṟuvu must have been with the armies of Bijjala and probably in alliance with the Kākatiyas of Anumakoṇḍa who were just then shaking off the Western Chālukyan yoke."[22] This opinion seems to be untenable in the light of the facts of contemporary history. Even during the life time of Taila III. many ot his feudatories rebelled against his authority. According to Bhandarkar, "Bijjala conceived the idea of usurping the throne of his master and endeavoured to secure the sympathies and co-operation of some of the powerful semi-independent chiefs.—Vijayārka the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* of Kōlhāpur was one of those who assisted him and Prōlarāja of the Kākatiya dynasty of Warangal who is represented to have fought with Tailapa, probably did so to advance the same cause" [23], and thereby seek his own elevation. Dr. Fleet also confirms this alliance between the Kākatiyas and the Kalachuryas. This refutes the theory of the Velnāḍu chiefs allying with the Kākatiyas and that against the Kalachuryas. It is possible further to

13. No. 716 of 1921. 14. No. 675 of S. I. I. IV, 15. Ins. Madras Presy. Gt. 59.
16. No. 163 of 1899. 17. No. 175 of 1897 18. Ins. Mad. Presy. GT. 522.
19. Ibid. GT. 564. 20. No. 664 of 1921 S. I. I. IV No. 1069
21. No. 658 of 1920. 22. Ep. Rep. for 1921, Pt. II.
23. Early History of the Dekkan. p. 222.

prove that the Kākatiyas did not only never side the Velnāḍu line but on the contrary were enemies of those chiefs. The Anumakonda inscription of Prōla[24] shows that " Prōla extended his military operations into the modern Krishna District as well ... ... Udaya or Chōḍōdaya whom Prōla first defeated but afterwards reinstated is to be connected with Kulottungachōḍa Gonka of Velnāḍu " according to Dr. Hultzsch. Who then were the Karnāṭa forces with whom the general Gonka fought. A number inscriptions of the time of Gonka II mention that he fought with Western Chālukyan forces and one of them clearly states that the Kuṇtala forces led by the general Gōvinda and Lakshmaṇa were defeated by Gonka on the banks of the Godavari.[25] From the Anumakonḍa inscription it is known that *Dandanāyaka* Gōvindarasa was governing Konḍapalli in A.D. 1126. Probably the engagement Krocch-eṛuvu preceeded that in which Gonka II took part and drove away the Western Chālukyas.

A number of records mention Gonka as "Lord of 480 villages"[26]. Probably this was the original principality of the Velnādu chiefs which later on they expanded. Gonkā II. is said to have defeated the rule of Lāṭa Marāṭa, and Kuntala[27] and had many grandiloquent titles.[28] He was an ardent śaivite and placed golden pinnacles on the temple of Bhīmanātha of Drākshārāma.[29] He was the greatest of the Velnāḍu rulers and in his time the dominion of the Velnāḍu line reached its utmost. It is said that Vikramachōḷa's son confirred on him the chieftainship of all the country between Srī Śailaṁ and the Mahēndra hill[29] while another source tells us that his realm reached Kālahasti. Some of his records are found even at Tripurāntakaṁ.

24 *Ep. Ind*, vol. IX p.

25 ....గోదావరీసంగరే॥

ప్రోల్లక్ష్మణ దండనాథసహితం గోవిందదండాధిపం।
జిత్వాహాటకఖోటకోష్ట్ర నివహాన్ప్రాక్స్వీగ శ్రియంయశఃపరం॥

S. I. I., IV. No. 1182.

26 No, 945 & 655 of 1921.

27 ప్రోద్యల్లాట మరాటకుంతల పతీన్నిర్జిత్య యః సంయుగే।

S. I. I., IV No. 1137.

28 The following are some of the titles of Gonka II.

స్వస్తిసమధిగత పంచమహాశబ్దమహా మండలేశ్వర వీరమాహేశ్వర చాళుక్య
రాజ్యభవన మూలస్తంభ.......... చతుర్థకులవనజమార్తాండ చల
మర్తిగండ త్రిశతోత్తర షట్సహస్రావనీనాథ ....
..........శివపాదశేఖర ....నామాది సమస్త ప్ర
శస్తిసహితం శ్రీమన్మహా మండలేశ్వర వెలనాటి గొంకయ

Ins. of the Mad. Presy. Kt. 1028.

29 *Ep. Ind.* IV p. 32.

CHODA II. A. D. 1163-1181 son and successor of Gonka II. was the last of the great chieftains of the Velnāḍu family. Inspite of numerous foreign invasions, Chōḍa managed to retain his ancestral dominion in tact and made further additions to it. In his time the Kōna country was conquered and annexed to his dominion.[31] By defeating and killing Bhīma of the Kolanu family, he removed one source of danger for the continuance of his power. Besides Vīra Rājēndra Chōḍa the Kōna chief,[32] the Manḍādi chiefs were also the subordinates of Chōḍa II.[33] The names of some of his ministers and officials like Dēvanapeggaḍa, Vāsenapeggaḍa, Sōmanapeggaḍa and Eṟṟapa Nāyaka, are to be known from inscriptions. Chōḍa had three queens called Gonkamāṁba, Paṇḍāṁba and Akkāṁbika. Of these the last was a princess of the Konḍapaḍmaṭi family.

Still, disruptive tendencies made their appearence in the reign. The first attempt at independence on the part of the Kōlanu chiefs was put down, and a matrimonial alliance removed possible dangers from the side of the Konḍapaḍmaṭi line. A third enemy were the Telugu Chōḍas. Under the leadership of Kannaradēva Chōḍa of the Koṇidena line, they manifested a rebellion. A family of loyal and valiant generals rose to the occasion and saved the Velnāḍu line from destruction at this juncture. These were three generals in the service of Chōḍa II. called Jellaya, Nāraya and Sūraya. The former defeated Kannaradēva Chōḍa. More serious than any of the menaces mentioned above was the Kākatiya invasion of the Velnāḍu country. It has been mentioned already that Kākati Prōla's son and successor Rudra was a great warrior and made many fresh conquests. According to the Anumakonḍa inscription, the empire of Rudra touched Śrī Śailam in the South. It has also been mentioned before that Gonka II's dominions reached up to Śrīśailaṁ and Tripurāntakaṁ. The Anumakonḍa record of A.D. 1162 makes these two places the boundaries of the Kākatiya empire. Evidently the Tripurāntakaṁ region must have been conquered by Rudra some time before A.D. 1162. This must have happened, therefore, immediately before the reign of Chōḍa II. (A.D. 1163-1181). Thus the loss of the Tripurāntakaṁ region marked the first step in the break up of the Velnāḍu dominion.

There is great confusion in the chronology and the geneology of the Velnāḍu line after Chōḍa II. According to the *Kēyūrabāhucharitram* Pṛithvīśvara was the son of Chōḍa. But the Piṭhāpūram Pillar inscription introduces a Gonka between Chōḍā and Pṛithvīśvara. Thus the former denies the identity of Gonka III. The latest date of Chōḍa II.

30. శ్రీదూన్వికృమ చోడదేవతనయో యస్మై ప్రభుర్విస్మితః।
పాద్రిదాదాసు——మహేంద్ర శిఖరి శ్రీశైలయోర్మధ్యకః॥

31. No. 1083 of *S.I.I.*, IV, 32. No. 218 of 1897. 33. No. 1365 of *S.I.I.*, IV.

is S. 1103 or A. D. 1186. If a chieftain of the name of Gonka III. existed at all his rule must be placed between A. D. 1181 and 1186. The identity of Gonka III. is proved by the following inscriptions.

No. 181 of 1897 mentioning a Chōḍā Gonka mahārāja, the son of Aakkama Mahādēvī.[34] No. 247 of 1897 dated S. 1092 mentioning Kulōttunga Gonka.

No. 257 of 1897 mentioning that the mother of Keta II. of the Kōṭa family was a sister of Gonka III.

Thus Gonka III. seems to have been the son and successor of Chōḍā II. No. 247 of 1897, dated A.D. 1170 mentioning Gonka III. falls within the reign of Chōḍa II. This proves that Chōḍa II and his son Gonka were ruling conjointly between A.D. 1170 and 1181, and that from A.D. 1181 to 1186 Gonka ruled independently.

GONKA III. (A.D. 1181-1186) had a brief but eventful and disastrous reign. Compared with the regnal periods of his ancestors (41, 15, 31, 18) that of Gonka III seems to be remarkably brief. From the Piṭhāpūraṁ Pillar inscription we learn that Gonka's wife of Jayāṁbikā of the Konḍapaḍmaṭi family. No. 347 of 1916 mentions that another wife of his Kāmāṁbikā or Kamidēvī.

DISSOLUTION OF THE VELNADU KINGDOM. The termination of Gonka's reign after a brief period of five years seems to have been due to same influences. His son and successor Pṛithvīśvara ruled from Pishṭapura on the other side of the Gōdāvari. Evidently both these events were connected. An investigation into the contemporary history throws much light on these two allied problems.

34 This record and the Pithapuram Pillar inscription prove beyond doubt the existence and identity of Gonka III, while one reveals the names of his wife and son, the other mentions the name of his mother, and it is known that Akkama was the wife of Choda II. Thus these two records give.

Choda II = Akkama.
|
Gonka III.
|
Prithvisvara.

(To be continued.)

STUDIES IN VIJAYANAGAR POLITY.

K. ISVARA DUTT, B.A.
(Local Fund Audit Department.)

Continued from page 20 above.

His Proprietor-ship in Land.

"Some of the writers have confidently asserted that the property in the soil according to the Hindu view always vested in the Hindu sovereign." The fact on the other hand is, that this is exactly the reverse of the Hindu theory on the subject. "Inscriptions proving to the hilt, the private property in the soil are extant," says Jayaswal in his monumental work on the Hindu Polity.[10] That it is a fact, is proved by the innumerable epigraphs of the period. The provincial governors and their subordinates[11], and the private persons owning landed property, grant villages and lands for the benefit of the deities and brahmins.[12] The person who owns the landed property has the right of disposing of the land. at his will and pleasure except perhaps in the case of inam lands. The Tiruppak khuli Inscription of Dēvarāya II. registers the interesting fact that the lands concerned which were service Inams were neither to be sold or mortgaged by the parties concerned and also that whoever sold or mortgaged the land would suffer the punishment that the traitors to the King and community would suffer in addition to the fine,[13] Two interesting forms of alienation exhibiting the practice which prevailed in the sale of private landed property are given in an appendix to this chapter.

Powers of Resumption and Reassessment

Two interesting epigraphs indicate the inherent powers of the monarch to resume the *Dēvādāya* and *Brahmādāya* lands originally granted. An epigraph of the time of Śrī Krishṇa Dēva Rāya registers that the *Dēvādāya* and *Brahmādāya* lands under a tank in the *Penugoṇḍa rājya* which had been rent-free *(Sarva-mānya)* from the time Chikka Oḍeyalu had been re-assessed on account of some disturbances in the interval.[14] During the time of Sadāśiva Rāya, a certain Aḷiya-Lingarāja renewed the

10 *Hindu Polity* p. 174

11 *Ep. Carn.* vol. III, M.L. 95, S.R. 139. *Ep. No.* 87 of 1912, *Ep. No.* 97 of 1913. *Ep. Ind.* vol. III page 21 *Ep. Ind.* vol. IV. *Kondavidu Inscrs.* Nos. 165 of 1913.

12 Nos. 25 of 1915, 347 of 1912, 525 of 1906, 251 of 1906 etc.

13 *Ep. Rep.* of 1916 para 60.

14 *Ep. No.* 180 of 1913.

grant of a village previously made by Śri Krishṇarāya. During the time of Achyuta Rāya, the village had apparently been resumed through the "mischief of mean-minded men"[15]

Prime Ministers and Deputy Ministers.

The King is always assisted in his counsels by a chief or a Prime Minister who is called in the epigraphs *mahāpradhāna*. The term *mahāpradhāna* appears in the inscriptions of Bukka I. for the first time. The *mahāpradhānas* of Bukka I. were "Nāganna Danāīk".[16] "Malleya Danāik"[17] Gōparasa[18] and Anantarasar.[19] The *mahāpradhāna* of Kampana was Sōmappa.[20] Muddappa was holding the same post under Harihara II.[21] Nāgappa Dannāik was the *mahāpradhāna* of Dēvarāya I.[22] Sāḷuva Timma was the *Mahāpradhāna* of Vīra Narasimha Rāya and Śrī Krishnarāya[23] Bācharasu was the prime minister of Achutaraya.

Duties of the Ministers and relations with the King.

The principal duty of the Prime Minister is to advise the King both in peace and war, and invariably he is the generalissimmo of the forces of the King. In all the above inscriptions, the additional title of '*Dannāik*' or '*Daṇḍanātha*' is mentioned. Next to the monarch, the principal executive officer of the state, is the Prime Minister. We know from the Konḍaviḍu inscription that Sāḷuva Timma led the forces against the Gajapati foe and won the day. It may be mentioned that the relations between the King and the Prime minister were always cordial.[24] We find them making grants to the temples and the Brahmins for the benefit or the religious merit of one another.[25]

As the inscriptions tell us, they are also the governors of provinces exercising their own authority over that part of the Empire, like any other provincial governor enjoying the privileges attached to the post. Paes gives an account of how the Prime Minister of the day was revered. "Salvatinica (Sāḷuva Timma) who is the principal person that enters the building, supervises the whole, for he brought up the King and made him King and so the King looks on him like as father. Whenever the King calls to him, he addresses him as Lord Śāḷva Timma and all the Captains and nobles of the realm make Salaam to him."[26] Such was the privilege and power enjoyed by the Prime Minister.

15 *Ep. No.* 52 of 1904.
16 *Ep. Carn.* vol. IX D.v. 29.
17 *Ep. Coll.* No. 132.
18 *Ep, Carn.* vol, IV C.H. 113.
19 *Ep. Carn*, vol. XII p. 92.
20 *Ep, Coll*, No. 523 of 1906.
21 *Ep. Carn.* vol. V B.L.
22 *Ep. Carn.* vol. X M.B. 7.
23 *Ep. No.* 342 of 1892 *Ep. Ind.* vol. VI p. 109.
24 *Ep. No.* 186 of 1897...This epigraph says that the bodies of Timmarasu and Krishnaraya are one.
25 *Madras Inscriptions* vol. II, *Ongole* 398.
26 *Forgotten Empire*, p. 268.

Powers of Appointment.

Perhaps with the consent of the monarch, the prime minister possessed the power of appointing provincial governors. According to the Mangalagiri inscription,[27] we learn that Nādindla Gōpa, nephew and son-in-law of the Sāḷuva Timma, Prime Minister, was appointed as the governor of the *Kondavīḍu rājyaṁ* by the Prime Minister himself.

Deputy Ministers.

The prime ministers had the powers of appointing '*Upa-pradhānas*' or the Deputy Ministers. Sāḷuva Timmarasu appears to have had an assistant (Upa-Pradhāna) in the person of Sōmarasa, son of Mēlama-mantri of Chandragiri.[28]

Qualifications for a Prime Minister.

The qualifications for a Prime Minister are laid down by Śrī Krishṇarāya, which have already been quoted.

The Office of the Prime Minister.

The office of the Prime Minister ceased to exist at any rate from the death of Achyutarāya. During his reign the gradual exit of the brahmins from the political arena, due to the enormous influence wielded by the brothers-in-law of the Emperor, led to the extinction of the office itself. The days of the brahmin rule were numbered and by the time Rāmarāya was at the helm of affairs and steering the ship of state, through stress and storm of political intrigues, against the bed-rock of Mohommadan confederation on which it finally wrecked, the influence of Brahmin was completely wiped out. Rāmarāya was also credited with the anti-brahmin feeling.[29]

जामाता भून्महीपालः रामराय इतिस्मृतः ।

ब्रह्मणानां गुरूणां च नित्य मप्रियमातनोत् ॥

Mahī-sura-narapati-vijayaṁ

Ministers.

In the first chapter, while discussing the appointment of viceroys to the various provinces in the Empire, the nature of the office and their position in the polity has been described. In an other chapter, we have narrated the qualities of their head, heart and hand. The minister under the Vijayanagar combined in himself the role of soldier, statesman and a scholar.[30]

Some of the political precepts laid down by Śrī Krishṇa Dēvarāya for the guidance of a reigning monarch in the daily administration

27 *Ep. Ind.* vol. VI 109.
28 *Ep. No.* 3 of 1897
29 *Mys. Archl. Rep.* 1907 paro 53.
30 Sources of Vijayanagar History, pages 48 49 51 52 62 etc.

of the kingdom, and also the important principles adumbrated by him in the selection of ministers, are quoted below from *Āmuktamālyada*.

King.

V. 219. 'A king should first establish his power in his territory 'either being in terms of affected friendship with his enemies or relying 'on his land and water-defences (fortifications). After this without external 'fear, he should set about rooting out the internal enemies of his king-'dom, just as a farmer first lays out the boundaries of his field and 'constructing fencing all round, softens the soil by digging up with the 'spade and removing the roots and stones in the ground.

V. 240. 'A king can find out three parts out of four of all the 'affairs of the state. He can find out the fourth part that has been 'concealed from him, through his favourites and friends. If with a mind 'full of the knowledge of polity, he is free from anger and is not very 'vindictive in his punishment of people who try to bring danger upon 'him, such a king can rule for a long time.

V. 248. 'Collecting money by oppressing the subjects, taking 'the counsel of worthless people, allowing one's territory to be annexed 'by others,—an able king should see that these things exist only with 'his enemies. When his enemy king is suspicious of his own feudatories 'and when they are suffering from his oppression, a king should encourage 'the latter and gratify them by presents of jewels and ornaments.

V. 252. 'Cruel punishments, want of discrimination with regard ' to flimsy charges, pressing an enemy without giving him an opportunity ' to come to terms, ruining (plundering) a foreigner who goes to him after ' seeing the wrongs in other states, doing things so as to be plain to the ' enemy's ministers, mixing much with the people knowing that they are ' not favourably disposed to him, looking with estrangement on men who ' can be relied upon, admitting too many into counsel as a result of their ' flattery, neglecting to punish a concillor, who reveals the secret counsels, ' not looking about carefully for remedies when any strange mishap ' happens, not caring for (looking towards) worthy people, associating ' with bad people getting addicted to the *vyasanas* (intense desires) and ' obstinacy,—all these should never be with a king.

V. 254. 'A king should increase the jealousies among the lords ' and warriors under him. Then their actions good or bad, can never be ' concealed. In trying to get over each other and become famous they ' will not entertain any idea of treachery to the sovereign.

V. 259. 'A king should freely converse in his court with the ' ambassadors from the kings of neighbouring states and speak to them ' about administration and war to understand their situation. He ' should so speak about administration and war that his followers may

'understand his point. What his counsellors say through attachment, 'the king should not take as offence.

V. 261 'That king can lay his had on his breast and sleep 'peacefully who appoints as master of his fortresses such Brahmins as 'are attached to himself, are learned in many sciences and arts, are 'addicted to *dharma*, are heroic and have been in his service since 'before his time, and who makes arrangements for storing in those fortresses 'tigers' cheese (?) (Telugu: *Pulijunnu*)[31] and other articles to last for a 'generation, who gives to the subordinate chiefs (*Sāmantas*) lands and 'other things without lessening in the slightest degree the arrangement 'with them, who increases his treasury by multiplying his income and 'lessening expenditure and by seeing that the people are without trouble, 'who keeps watch on the territory of weakened enemies by his spies 'and capturing them suddenly like the crane which catches the fish, who 'sees that neither he nor his subjects suffer and who gives trouble only 'to his enemies.

V. 270. 'A king should rule collecting round him people skilled 'in state-crafts, should investigate the mines yielding precious metals in 'his kingdom and extract the same, should levy taxes from his people 'moderately, should counteract the acts of enemies by crushing them 'with force, should be friendly, should protect one and all of his 'subjects, should put an end to the mixing up of the castes among them, 'should always try to increase the merit of the Brahmins, should 'strengthen his fortresses and lesson the growth of the undesirable things 'and should be ever mindful of the purification (?) of his cities and 'thus strengthen himself and increase his longevity just as a man 'strengthens his own body and increases his longevity by consulting good 'doctors, by learning the properties of the seven *dhātus* and taking 'medicines compounded with gold and other minerals, by taking food 'so as to suit his constitution by seeing that wind (*Vāta*) does not 'accumulate in his body, by regular anointments, by the nourishment 'of all parts by counteracting the change of the colour of the skin and 'the hair turning grey, by seeing that the teeth are firm, by seeing that 'the arms and similar parts grow and other parts like the stomach do not 'grow, by cleansing the system so as to increase its vitality.

V. 284. 'You should not think that ruling a kingdom is a sin 'and get embarassed as to how to get rid of the sin. The scriptures 'do not ordain any impossible thing. Therefore you should rule the 'kingdom to the best of your ability.

31 *Pulijunnu* is a poetical expression, used commonly to denote very rare commodities. Here the idea is that even the rarest delicacies should be provided for the fortress. Ed.

Ministers.

V. 211. 'If a Brahmin who is a scholar, who is afraid of '*adharma*, who is well-versed in *rājanīti* and who is between the ages 'of fifty and seventy, who is healthy in body, whose connection with the 'king has come down from previous generations and who is not conceit-'ed, accepts the ministership under a king and looks after his business, 'would it take more than a day for the *angas* (contituents of royalty) of 'such a king to increase?

Vv. 212 and 213. 'In the absence of such a minister if a king 'is not contended with ruling himself to the best of his genius according 'to *the Science of Polity* and with the help of a strong army and a full 'treasury, and has recourse to a minister who is devoid of virtues, the 'minister would prove a source of trouble like the pearl of the size of 'pumpkin and the king would ultimately find himself in the hands of that 'minister.

V. 227. 'In the council when one officer proposes a particular 'course another would object to it as unsuitable through mere spite of the 'former. The king should discover their individual motives and without 'denying the statement of either should close the council and then follow 'the course proposed by the first councillor, without spite.

V. 229. 'They make the king give (offices and presents) only to 'their favourites (people in their control) and make him dismiss from 'service others. They make it impossible for the king to act according 'to his own promise; thus dissuade others from joining the king's service by 'making his appear as a promise-breaker and not true to his own word.

V. 230. 'Just as when the keen appetite of a person loses its 'keenness on account of the predominance of phlegm and other causes, an 'external medicine strengthens it, if an able new officer is appointed in the 'old one's place he would destroy the conceit (power) of the former.

V, 231. 'The method of bringing in a new minister to destroy 'the influence of the old is thus.

V. 232. 'When the treasury and the forces of cavalry and 'elephants are under his control in the stables, will not the machinations 'of bad ministers vanish before a king who is at the same time a scholar '(intelligent man) and a hero.

V. 265. 'Kings would consult a councillor whose counsel suits 'them on one or two occasions. By such constant consultation by the king 'and by receiving presents from him he gets conceited and advises the 'the king to undertake unnecessary things. In that case the king ought 'to have a watch over the actions of the councillor through his spies."[32]

32 The translation of these stanzas, as published in a small pamphlet entitled "Political precepts of Sri Krishnaraya" by my friend Mr. A. Rangaswami Saraswati Assistant Epigraphist, are adopted in this chapter.

APPENDIX.

TWO INTERESTING DOCUMENTS OF ALIENATION.

I give here two specimens of forms of alienation, from the epigraphs available. The epigraphs give details of the practice of sale of private landed property and the forms of document executed, at that time.

1. A Tamil Inscription at Conjeevaram.

'It begins with the usual invocations and recites that it was written during the Government (probably provincial) of Bukkana Oḍeyar and Vīra Kambana Oḍeyar after the *Sahabdam* a year of Śālivāhana 1222, in the year of the Hindu cycle *Plava* A. D. 1301, the sun being in the sign of Aqarius, in the first fortnight of the moon, on the 11th day, being Thursday under nakshatra of Pūnūr Pūshaṁ.

In the land of victory, Chōḷamaṇḍalam, then follows a detail, showing the division, the township and the quarter of township, '*Modeliar Nacehyar*' otherwise called '*Yellanatalayal*', daughter of Tomoondi Achache the slave of Perumal among the *Dāsicul* (dancing women) announced 'of my own consent my own '*Canyatchi*' two *manas* situated'......Here follows a detailed account of boundaries the property being a small patch in the town. "The two pieces of ground of mine, in the midst of these four boundaries I consent to sell. Who will buy ?" Thus she proclaimed, which being heard, then answered Ayapanaingar son of Coopanaingar of the tribe etc.... "If you sell at my price I will buy." Then the said woman and the purchaser Ayapanaingar both said, "We consent and agree for current money without blemish *panams* twenty seven'—These two grounds, with their groves tree, shrubs etc—, all these I have sold and having received the money without objection and have delivered my original biils of sale; there is no doubt with regard to the title of these grounds; if any doubt should occur, I will stand up and remove it. These grounds he may sell or grant in charity to any one and alienate at his pleasure and their price being fixed at auction at 27 *panams* which I have received without balance, they are hereby transferred to Ayyapanaingar, so on etc...with full consent by Nacheyar etc...in the presence of Aroolala Veejayaramam.

(Sd.) Aroolala Veejayaraman.

The Second Inscription.

"In praise of the King Devaraya of Vijayanagara!"

When he was ruling the kingdom, in the year of the Kaliyoog 4517 of Śālivahana 1349 after the year *Plava*; the 21st of *maasee*; the 5th of the increasing moon under the star Rogany, on that auspicious day was written this bill of sale.

1 See Wilks *History of Mysore* vol. I. pages 507—508

'In the land of victory Tondamandalam, (here follows subdivisions etc.) the village or township of Coommangalan situated etc...Moossoo Naig son of Audippa Naik of the caste etc...who resides in the village of Velloda, situated near the said Coommangalam he and his relations: Om! Agreed and proclaimed "The village of Velloda, half of which is my '*Canyatchi*,' will anybody buy my half village?' These words being heard due answered in the *mandalam*, in the said division and in the said *naad*. Cota-Perria-Broomo Setty of the village of Wopanalakam of the Vysya caste, he and his kindred with their consent answered, 'we will buy. Then said parties (repeating their names) agreed and fixed the price in the presence of the Brahmins of 'Coommangalam at 125 new *Varāha* (pagodas) Then follows the measurement of land. We have sold our part and received in consideration or value fixed. This is the price; twice; thrice; the said '*Canyatchi*' of ours, you may enjoy while the Sun and Moon endure. There is no doubt of the title of the said '*Canyatchi*'.

'In consequence of the agreement of Mooto Naig and his kindred with Cota Broomo Setty, we have thus confirmed it and granted this bill of sale of our *canyatchi* land.'

This is the hand writing of Mootonaig, of the village of Coommangalam. Subscribed by eight witnesses from the above recited and neighbouring villages.

Chapter IX.

THE BRAHMIN IN THE VIJAYANAGAR POLITY.

From the cradle to the grave the Empire was nurtured by the Brahmin. The Empire without the Brahmin was a watch without the mainspring, an engine without steam and a body without soul. A student of the Vijayanagar History will certainly understand from the valuable, both of epigraphical and literary evidence, we have the fortune to possess, that there was no branch of administration of the day and corner of the Empire in which the Brahmin did not play his part.

From epigraphical evidence, we know that the Brahmin sage and statesman of the day, Mādhava Vidyārṇya was the founder of the City of Vidyānagara or Vijyanagara[1] Not only was he the founder but also the political preceptor of the two adventerous brothers Harihara and Bukka. His brother Śāyaṇa and nephew Lakshmīdhara were the ministers of prince Sāngama and Dēvarāya I.[2]. Gōpana mantri, a great brahmin commander, was one of the generals of army under Kamparāya who led a successful expedition into the South.[3] Mādhava mantri was the ruler

1 *Nel. Ins.* Kapalur Grant pp. 109 –125. *Ep. Carn.* vol. XI C. L. 45 and 54.
2 *Ind. Ant.* Febr. 1916. 3 *A.S.R.* 1907—08 page 240.

of Vanavāsi under Harihararāya, Bukkarāya I. and Harihararāya II.[4]. He conquered Goa from the Muhammadans and annexed the Konkaṇadēśa to the empire.[5] Jakkana, a Telugu poet mentions two Brahmin Ministers by name, Jannaya mantri and Chāmana mantri serving under Dēvarāya I., Coming down to the period of Vīra Narasimharāya and Śrī Krishṇarāya[6] the whole empire was under the control of Sāḷuva Timma mantri the Prime Minister of both the kings. Not only did he hold the reins of the Empire in his hand but, also the important viceroyalties of the day were distributed among his brother and nephews. Sāḷuva Timma was at first the viceroy at Koṇḍavīḍu and rose to be the Prime Minister.[7] His two nephews Appa mantri and Gōpana mantri served as viceroys at Koṇḍavidu. Timma's brother Gōvindarāja was viceroy at Gutti[8] and of Terkanambiyasīma.[9] Afterwards he filled an important office of the Governor of the city at the capital of the empire according to Paes,[10] the Portuguese traveller. Rāyasaṁ Koṇḍamarusayya, a great Brahmin general of the day was the viceroy at Udayagiri, Penugoṇḍa ; he afterwards led the expedition against the Ruler of Kalinga and planted a Pillar of Victory at Siṁhādri and Śrī Kūrmaṁ. We know from the Koṇḍavīḍu inscriptions of Sāluva Timma that that fortress was captured by him. The Poet-laureate Peddanna was entrusted with the administration of a revenue division by Krishṇarāya.[11]

Instances of this type may be multiplied, but all go to relate the same story, that the Brahmin both by his head and hand, served the empire faithfully. He was the trustworthy minister, faithful friend, poet-laureate, bosom companion and lastly, the valiant soldier of the king.

It is interesting to note in this connection, what Krishṇadēvarāya says in his *Āmuktamālyada* about the Brahmin.[12] (1) "Appoint Brahmins only as the commanders of the forts in the kingdom." (2) "The Brahmin who is born in a low family who lives in the suburbs of Śabaras, who is not proficient in Vedas etc., who is a liar and a treacherous fellow, who is not afraid of any scandal, who is not a native of the kingdom and who does not discharge his duties, may be dispensed with."[13] (3) "If a Brahmin who is proficient in *Śāstras*, who is afraid of doing injustice and well-versed in political science, whose age is below seventy and above fifty who is without any disease, whose ancestors are the faithful servants of the king, accepts the appointment of the Prime Minister at the request of the King, will not then, a half day be sufficient for the development of the *rājyāngas* (administration (?)"[14]

4 *Ep. Carn.* vol. VIII Shikarpur No. 281. and *Ind. Ant.* vol. II p. 2 and 6.
5 *Ep. Carn.* vol. VIII No. 46.
6 *Vikramarka Charitramu* by Jakkana
7 *Ep. Ind.* vol. VI p. 234.
8 No. 340 of *Ep. col.* 1892.
9 *Ep. Carn.* vol. IV p. 25.
10 *Forgotten Empire* p. 284.
11 *Rept, South Ind Ep.* 1912 para 55 and *Ep.* No. 623 of 1915.
12 Canto v. 207.
13 v. 209.
14 v. 211.

In this last verse, Krishṇadeva evidently refers to his own Prime Minister, Sāḷuva Timma, whose head had grown grey in the service of the Empire and who was the greatest minister, the bravest general, and the deepest scholar of the day.

Paes says "because although the King has many Brahmins, they are officers of the towns and cities and belong to the Government of theirs."[15]

Nuniz states: They are honest men, very good as accountants lean men and well formed, but little fit for hard work. By these and by the duties they undertake the kingdom is carried on.

Chapter X.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE.

That the safety of person and property was entrusted to the viceroys under the Vijayanagar Kings, we have had the occasion to notice elsewhere. They were bound to make good the loss sustained by the people, on account of robbery.[1] This onerous responsibility was not mainly, shouldered by the viceroys, for they in their turn passed it on to their *Kāvalgars* (watchmen) " who had charge of groups of villages and controlled the *Talaiyāris* (Tel : *Talavaris*) who were appointed to each village." These *Talaiyāris* still to continue to exist now under the name Village Headmen. They retain the old title, but do not do that duty, as it is now done by the Police.

" The *Talaiyāris* were paid in kind and coin and granted also lands free of rent. The *Kāvalgars* were, highly paid officials and granted payment as follows : (1) a village rent free or at a low quit rent, (2) a certain portion of rent free land in every village under their jurisdiction, (3) an, allowance in grain upon each plough or upon the quantity of, seed sown. (4) an allowance in money paid by husbandmen on ploughs and by tradesmen on houses, shops, and looms, (5) a small duty on goods passing through the country and (6) a similar duty levied at fairs and weekly markets on shroffs (?) (paid in money) and other dealers (paid in kind.)

Nuniz gives a horrible picture of the Criminal Code of the day The punishment inflicted on the ordinary criminal and the treacherous murderer, did not vary much. The punishment was retributive but not reformative and if we trust the account of Nunis, we may fairly imagine that there was no occasion for a prison cell, to lodge a criminal. Here is the account of Nuniz : "The punishments that they inflict in the Kingdom are these : For a thief, whatever theft he commits, howsoever little it be, they forthwith out off a foot and a hand and if this theft be a great one, he is hanged with a hook under his chin. If a man outrages a respectable woman or a virgin, he has the same punishment and if he does

15 *Forgotten Empire* p. 245 16 *Ibid.* p. 390.
1 *Bellary District Gazetteer* p. 187, and *Forgotten Empire* p. 380.

any other such violence, his punishment is of a little kind. Nobles who become traitors are sent to be impaled alive on a wooden stake thrust through the belly, and peonle of lower orders—for whatever crime they commit, he (the King) forthwith commands their heads to be cut off in the market place, and the same for murder unless the death was the result of a duel. . These are the common kinds of punishments but they have others more fanciful, for when the King desires, he commands a man to be thrown to the elephants and they tear him in pieces. The people are so subject to him, that if you told a man, on the part of the King, that he must stand still in a street holding a stone on his back all day till you released him, he would do it"[2]

The system of criminal investigation was very peculiar. Wizards were consulted and the thief was tracked. Nuniz states that "here are very powerful wizards in this country. Thus there are very few thieves in the Land"

The City of Vijayanagara and its Police.

The safety of person and property in the great city was entrusted to the Prefect of the City whose office lay just opposite to the Mint. He was the Commissioner of the City Police, with about 12,000 policemen under him. The duty of these policemen was to petrol the whole city, to acquaint themselves with all the events, and accidents, that take place with its seven walls, and to recover the property that was lost or stolen. If they failed in their duty to do so, they were fined. Abdul Razack quotes a concrete instance: "Thus certain slaves that my companion had brought took to fight and when the circumstance was reported to the Prefect, he ordered the watchmen of that quarter where the poorest people dwelt to produce them or to pay the penalty, which last they did on ascertaining the amount.'[3]

These policemen were paid 30 *paṇams* each per month, from the proceeds of 12,000 panams mainly derived from the dancing girls of the city.

The duty of the Commissioner (*Nagarādhyakṣa*) was to submit to the King, an account of the robberies committed in the Capital. It is said, that few robberies were committed in the capital. The Commissioner and his staff were always very vigilant to catch the thief and recover the the stolen property lest their property itself might be confiscated, "to make good the loss".

The principles laid down for guidance in punishments, are quoted below, from the *Āmuktamālyada* of Krishna Dēvarāya :—

V, 239.—" If a king were to propitiate his guards with presents and hand over to them for custody a thief whose guilt has been proved without immediate punishment and if when he escapes, the guards bring before the king another in his place and punish him, as in the story of the stout merchant on the spear,—will not the king's infamy increase?"

2 *Forgotten Empire* pp. 383—4. 3 Elliot's *History of India* vol. III pp. 105 —125

BAPATLA KAIFIYAT.

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

This manuscript, kindly lent to me by Rāja Kāṇḍrēgula Jagannātha Rao Bahadur of Rajahmundry, states that *Bhāvana* or *Bhāvanārāyaṇa Svāmi*, by making known his presence through a tree, led to the founding of a town named *Bhāvapuri* or *Bhāvapaṭṭaṇa* which became corrupted as Bāpaṭla in course of time. A certain Chōḷa Emperor named Vīra Pratāpa Chōḷa Mahādēva is said to have built the temple of Bhāvanārāyaṇa in S.S. 515 (A.D. 593) and made a gift of two villages Bhāvapaṭla and Āmudālapalli, constituting them into *agrahara* for the god's worship and festival. A certain Krimikanṭha Chōḷa, and after him, Chōḷa Bhūpāladēva ruled over the country, till S. S. 775 (A.D. 853). Later on, *Vīra Pratatāpa Śūra*, Bhallaya-Chōḷa Mahāraja, a descendent of *Kāvērītīra* Karikāla line ruled in S. S. 1032 (A.D. 1110). Then, Kulōttunga Chōḷadēva ruled till S. S. 1037 (A. D. 1118). During his rule, Gaṇapati Mahārāja captured the throne in S. S. 1056 (A.D. 1134). His minister, Gōparāju Ramana assigned lands to Brahmins in S. S. 1062 (A. D. 1140). Then a ruler of the same Kākatiya line named Rudradēva Mahārāja ruled till S. S. 1240 (A. D. 1318) and then, the Reḍḍi Kings defeated the Kākatiyas and occupied these countries, and six of them ruled one after another till S. S. 1340 (A. D. 1418). Then, Lāngūla Gajapati ruled over the whole of the country extending from Cuttack to Udayagiri in Nellore District. His son Kapilēśvara Gajapati and then Purōṣōttama, Pratāparudra and finally Vīrabhadra Gajapati ruled over the whole country, until, in the latter's reign the *Narapati* king, Krishnadēvarāya started from Vijayanagar on a victorious march against the eastern countries, defeated Virabhadra, and took from him Koṇḍavīḍu. After ruling for eighteen years, from S.S. 1437 to 1455 (A.D. 1515 to 1533), he was succeeded by Achyutarāya, Sadāśivarāya Rāmarāya, Tirumalarāya Śrī-Rangarāya and other Carnatic rulers, who ruled till S.S. 1500 (A.D. 1578) when the country fell under the yoke of the *Mlēccas* (Mohammedans). Malik Ibrahim and Abdulla ruled over the country and curtailed the gifts made to the god. The country was governed by *Amīls* and *Dēspāndyas*. When, from A.D. 1751 to 1758 the administration of country was handed over by the Nizām-ul-Mulk to the French. They revoked the land grants made to the temple of Bhāvanarāyaṇa. The East India Company, who then succeeded to the government of the country in 1759 were just rulers and their Dewan, Rāja Kāṇḍrēgula Jōgi Jagannatha Rao Bahadur *Muzumdar* and *Sher-seristhadar*, Rajamahēndri *Sircar*, granted to their temple and several other temples servants and lands for conducting the worship and the festivals properly to the deity. In A. D. 1803 the East India Company put to auction these countries and then Rāja Vāsireḍḍi Vēnkatādri Nāyaḍu purchased them and continued undisturbed the full enjoyment of the gifts of lands made to the temple and to the temple servants already.

EDUCATON IN ANCIENT INDIA.

K. VENKATAPPAYYA, B.A., B.L., B.ED.

(Continued from page 220 vol. IV. above)

II

Having considered the routine of the life of a Hindu student in ancient India, I shall proceed to give as briefly as possible the duties and responsibilities of the teacher and the pupil and the mode of correction resorted to by teachers in times of yore. The standlng duties of a student are as follow. Sāṁkhyāyana II. 4, 5 refers to the teacher as saying to the student who approaches him for receiving education thus:

" A student art thou, put on fuel. Eat water. Do the service. Do not sleep in day time. Keep silence till the putting on of fuel". The student performs the *Sandhya*, seated in the forest with a piece of wood in his hand. He does the *Sandhya* constantly observing silence turning his face northwest, murmuring *Sāvitri* and other verses. In the same way in the morning he does it till the disk of the Sun appears". When the Sun has risen, the study of the *Vēda* goes on. In the evening and morning he establishes the fire in its proper place, wipes with his hand round it, sprinkles water, bends his right knee, puts on fuel invoking with the texts Jātavēdasa and Agni.

Asvalāyana 1. 22. gives almost the same duties. He adds that the student should beg first of a man who will not refuse, and in begging, he should use the words "Sir, give food", "Oh Lady, give food." The term 'Lady' was however used by a Brahman at the beginning of his request, by a Kshatriya in its middle, and by a Vysya at its end. Parāśara mentions the bearing of the staff, the worship of the fire, obedience to *Guru*, going round for alms, as his duties. He adds that the student should avoid honey and flesh, bathing for pleasure, sitting on high seats, going to women, speaking falsehood, and taking what is not given. (*Parāśara* II. 5. 11)

It might appear that some of the duties prescribed for the student are quite ridiculous and fantastical but it should be borne in mind that they refer to an age far removed from that which we live in. But the discipline in life which the duties engendered in the student and the humility which the student had to cultivate as, for example, by begging for his food are features of ancient education which cannot be brushed

aside lightly. I might state here that begging by a student was not confined to the students in ancient India. Some of the students of the monasteries in the middle ages in Europe also begged for their food.

Now what are the obligations of a teacher in ancient times? Had he merely rights without obligations, like the nobility of France before the revolution of 1789? No, the teacher in ancient India had his own duties to discharge in his relations with the pupil. The teacher had to love his pupil as his own son, and if he had more than one pupil under his charge—which was not uncommon, it was incumbent upon him to love them all as his own sons. The following passage from *Manusmṛti* (Chap. 71: vv. 159—161) refers to the conduct of a teacher towards his pupil. "Created beings must be instructed in what concerns their welfare without giving them pain; and sweet and gentle speech must be used by the teacher who desires to abide by the Sacred Law. He, forsooth, whose speech and thoughts are pure, even, and perfectly guarded, gains the whole reward which is conferred by the Vēdānta. Let him not, even though in pain, speak words cutting to the quick. Let him not injure others in thought or deed; let him not utter speeches which make others afraid of him, since that will prevent him from gaining Heaven".

As regards punishments of pupils, Gautama says "As a rule pupil shall not be punished corporally. If no other course is possible, he may be corrected with a thin rope or cane. If the teacher strikes him with any other instrument, he shall he punished by the king". (*Gautama*, *II*, 42—46) Manu also awards similar punishments and considers the teacher who exceeds the bounds, as having committed the offence of theft. But Āpastamba is more severe. He prescribes frightening. fasting, bathing in cold water, and banishment from the teacher's presence as correctives to a recalcitrant student (*Āpastamba* V, 2.) It is needless to state that the above quotation makes us infer that teachers in ancient India were not generally in favour of harsh punishments for pupils except under extra-ordinary circumstances.

III

Education of other Castes in the Ancient Period.

If the Vedic Schools were confined mostly to the Brahmins, it should not be supposed that the education of the young men of the other two castes was neglected. It should be borne in mind that the Aryan society in the early epoch was flexible and the promotion of a member of either Kshatriya or the Vysya caste to the Brahman caste was quite possible as also the adoption by a Brahmin of the profession of the two other castes (Rhys David's *Buddhist India*, 1913 Ed. pp. 56-57.) If the Kshatriyas and Vysyas did not avail themselves of the higher education

imparted in educational institutions run by Brahmins, it was due to their desire to equip themselves in the special study of arts and crafts which enabled them to thrive well in their respective professions. It is possible that a major portion of the members of these castes did not think it worth their while to waste long and precious periods of their lives in the acquisition of what appeared to them an unprofitable lumber· But instances are not wanting to show that some members of the Kshatriya caste at least could prosecute their Vedic study with as much avidity and proficiency as the Brahmins and assume a position of eminence in literary circles of the time. The name of Janaka, king of the Vidēhas, referred to in the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upanishads* for his eminence in Vedic lore, is a case in point. Chitra Gangyayani, Javāli and Ajātaśatru were in a position to give instruction to Brahmins in the *Śāstras*.

Now what was the kind of education intended specially for the Kshatriyas? Gautama (XI.1) prescribes the three-fold sacred science and logic to the Kshatriyas. The royal princes were expected to receive instruction in archery as became their future calling. The cases, of Drōṇa who instructed the Pāṇḍava and Kuru princes in archery and of Viśvamitra who taught the same art to the sons of Daśaradha, come to our minds at once. Military skill and right moral conduct were considered indispensable for a Kshatriya. Kauṭilya, in his *Arthaśāstra* mentions four sciences which members of the royal family should receive, namely *Anvīkshaki*, the three *Vēdas*, *Vārta*, and *Daṇḍanīti*. The first comprised the study of the *Sānkhya*, *Yōga*, and *Lōkāyata* philosophies. Agriculture, cattle-breeding, and trade made up *Vārta*. And the science of Government with a knowledge of criminal law was what was known as *Daṇḍanīti*. What Kauṭilya prescribes for the study of princes may well be supposed to apply to all the members of the Kshatriya community. But there is no unanimity of opinion among the ancient authorities in regard to the particular kind of education necessary for a Kshatriya. Be that as it may, it may be taken for certain that military training, the science of government, (*rājanīti*) and knowledge of literary works inculcating ideals of moral and religious life formed the curriculum of study of Kshatriyas generally.

As regards the period of training, the Kshatriya had to receive instruction for six years, that is, till he was 16, assuming that he was initiated in his 11th year in accordance with what was prescribed in the *Sūtras*. The Kshatriya should receive lessons in the forenoon and these comprised training in military arts, use of elephants, horses, and chariots in war, and the use of weapons. The afternoon was to be utilised for *Itihāsa* which included the *Purāṇas*, history and tales known as *Itivṛtta*, and *Ākhyayika*.. During the rest of the day and the night the young Kshatriya should not only receive new lessons but revise old ones. He should also hear over again what had not been clearly understood before.

As Rev. Keay remarks, "the education prescribed for Kshatriya held up a noble ideal, not in any way inferior to the education of knights in the middle ages." *Ancient Indian Education*, pp. 70—71.)

As regards the Vysyas who were the third caste, they employed themselves in agriculture and trade. They did not derive much benefit from the study of the Vedas for improving their prospects in their own profession. The Vysyas and the Kshatriyas knew pretty well even in early times that a good portion of life devoted entirely to the study of the Vedas did not add a title to their worldly possessions, and it might be supposed that they were only too glad if the Brahmin teachers let them alone without imposing upon them the unprofitable task, as it seemed to them, of studying the Vēdas and acquiring knowledge. A Vysya was expected to know the respective value of the commodities he traded in and appraise their values correctly. For instance, he should be conversant with the quality, the fineness, etc., of pearls, metals, perfumes etc. which formed generally the commodities of trade. He was also expected to know the proper time for the sowing of the seeds, to distinguish between good, bad, and indifferent soils, the profitability or otherwise of carrying on trade with this or that foreign country, the mode of rearing cattle etc. The young Vysya should, besides these, know something of commercial geography, arithmetic, some languages. and some practical details of trade, all of which would be of much help to him in his special calling. When it became evident that educational instructions of the Brahmins did not serve their purposes adequately, establishment of special educational institutions to meet the demands of Vysyas became a necessity. The Brahmins in some cases satisfied the demand but when it was not done, the trading and agricultural communities in villages and towns joined together and established the necessary schools for their children. Writing became a necessity in these institutions and it was freely used by these communities. It should be noted in this connection that writing was first introduced into India by traders and merchants and that it was first made use of for satisfying the needs of commercial education before it was availed of for literary purposes.

Besides the Vysyas, there arose in course of time other communities pursuing various occupations. The carpenter, the blacksmith, etc. found a place in society and formed an indispensable factor in the social organism. The origin of these crafts may be traced even to the *Ṛig Saṁhita*, so that it is not true to say that they came into existence in the later part of the ancient period. The four original castes multiplied gradually into innumerable sub-castes and sub-communities following different occupations. To the craftsmen, who thus came into existence, the three R's were not an absolute necessity. The crafts, like other professions of the three higher castes, became hereditary and the son of a

craftsman stepped into the calling of his father on the latter becoming diseased, or otherwise incompetent, or when he died. Apprenticeship was not unknown. The son absorbed unconsciously the technique of his father's craft. The craftsmen in order to preserve the secrets of their respective crafts and in order that others might not enter into their profession began to form 'guilds' in course of time, like the Craft-Guilds in Medieval Europe. It appears that the only learning which these craftsman needed was the memorisation of certain Sanskrit works which enunciated the principles underlying their respective occupations. The case of *Vāstu-śāstra*, containing the traditional rules for the building of a house which in southern India was learnt by heart, illustrates this.

Thus, the education which the craftsmen received may well be termed " professional " in modern parlance. It might be that the members of these castes might be defective so far as sheer school-taught literary education was concerned but their training in their respective professions left nothing to be desired, judging from the standard of civilisation in which they were born. It is a mistaken notion in the minds of the critics of the ancient Hindu system of education that the Brahmins kept all other castes in total darkness lest they might one day compete with them for the supreme position in society. The truth seems to be that the members of these castes did not in the least trouble themselves about the unprofitable learning of the Brahmins which would impede rather than accelerate their respective occupations.

Now this leads me to consider for a moment the justification or otherwise of the charge usually levelled against the Brahmin community by certain ill-informed persons. The brunt of the attack against this caste amounts to this, namely, that they denied for the members of the Śūdra class, all chances of their receiving the benefits of education. (see C. E. Trevelyn' *Education of India* Ed. 1838 pp. 168-9 *foot note*.) The position of the *Antyajas* at present is also ignorantly attributed to the selfishness of the Brahmin.

The early European writers like Mill, Orme, Abbe Dubois, Buchanan, Ward and others agravated this prejudice. The Brahmins are generally identified with the clergymen of medieval Europe under the mistaken analogy of the three orders of society. the king, the church and the nobles which existed there. The Brahmin is by them saddled with all the sins attributed to the priests in European countries. 'Craftiness' is an epithet invariably applied by them to the Brahmin. 'Immoral' is the term attributed by Hegel to the Brahmin in his 'Philosophy of History'. J. D. Mayne in his "Hindu Law and Usage" "which is considered to be the standard work on Hindu Law attributes the origin of the Law of Partition among the Hindus to the selfish desire on the part of the Brahmin whose

emoluments for officiating at religious ceremonies would be multiplied in proportion to the number of the divided members after the partition was effected. Sir Watter Scott in the only Novel where the scene is laid in India could not think of any other person than 'Brahmin Papiah' to serve as the villain of the piece.

But let us examine the charge. The statement that the Brahmins are a priestly class 'is at best a half truth and like all half-truths has been productive of an infinitely greater amount of mischief than many absolute falsehoods. All Brahmins are not priests nor all priests Brahmins. And if by 'priest' is understood a person who officiates at places of worship as is evidently the connotation of the term employed by the European writers, the number of such priests in the Brahmin community is microscopically small. The statement might have been true in the earliest epoch of the Vedic age when the Brahman discharged the priestly functions on the principle of division of labour, but those conditions changed in a later age. In the Buddhist age, the popularity of the sacrifice waned with the result that in the competition which ensued between members of the Brahmin community for sacrificial fees, some were compelled to follow all sorts of occupations. (Rhys Davids: *Buddhist India.* pp. 248-9) There was yet another cause for the change in the occupations of the Brahmin. It was the growing disinclination of the other castes to support the Brahmin who performed religious rites and sacrifices.

It is a pity that the early European writers either ignorant of the real constitution of the Brahmin community or too impatient to investigate into the truth of the statements made by them, began to apply the phrase 'priestly class' whenever they had any occasion to refer to the Brahmin community. And this phrase is continued to be applied "ad nauseum" both by the Europeans and by some of the Indians who take, for gospel truth, whatever is laid down by the former,

(To be continued)

MADRAS RECORD OFFICE

AMARAVATI FROM A. D. 100 TO 700.

PROFESSOR G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL.

A. SECOND CENTURY; THE ĀNDHRAS. The only Āndhra inscription at Amarāvati belongs to the reign of Vāsiṭhiputa Sāmi-Siri-Pulumāvi, (Śatavāhana).

B. THIRD CENTURY; THE IKṢVĀKUS. It is certain that the Ikṣvākus came immediately after the Āndhras (Śatavāhanas): the alphabet of the Myākadoni Āndhra inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIV Page 153) resembles that of the Jaggayapēṭa inscription of the Ikṣvāku king Purisadata (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XI, page 256.)

Jaggayapēṭa is situated near the left bank of Krishṇa, and Nāgarjunakoṇḍa, where many Ikṣvāku inscriptions were recently discovered is on the right bank of the river; so, it is not possible to doubt now that the Ikṣvākus had a large kingdom and reigned at Amarāvati.

C. FOURTH CENTURY; THE PALLAVAS. The Prākṛt plates of the Pallava dynasty are certainly very ancient: the Mayidavōlu plates are written in the same alphabet as the plates of Jayavarman found at Koṇḍamuḍi, and Jayavarman's date cannot have been very distant from the Āndhra kings (*Ep. Ind.* vol. VI. N°. 31, page 315).

The Mayidavōlu document is an order, concerning the village of Viṟipara situated in the province of Āndhrapatha (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. VI. page, 84) sent to the governors of Dhaññakaḍa (Amarāvati). Viṟipara is perhaps Vippaṟla (2 miles east of Krōsūr and 12 miles from Dharaṇi kōṭa). It is a Pallava grant in Prākṛt dialect.

D. FIFTH CENTURY: THE KANDARA FAMILY. The Maṭṭepāḍ plates of Dāmōdaravarman are certainly very ancient: the alphabet is of the early type as in the case of the Pallava plates of Chārudēvī (*Ep. Ind.* vol. VIII, N°. 12) and of Vijaya-Dēvavarman (*Ep. Ind.* vol. IX, N°. 7) the old Śālañkāyana king.

These plates (Maṭṭepāḍ, Chārudēvi and Vijaya-Devavarman) are in a peculiar language: Prākṛt and Sanskrit mixed. Dāmōdaravarman of the Maṭṭepāḍ plates (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVII, N°. 18, page 327) resided at a city called Kandarapura and was a worshipper of *Samyak-Sambuddha*; he belongs to the *Gōtra* of Ānanda. The Chēzarla inscription (*Ep. Report*

for 1900 pp. 5 and 35) mentions the daughter of king Kandara of the Ananda gōtra.

The king Attivarman (a Prakṛt form of Hastivarman) of the Kandara family and Ānanda *Gōtra* refers, in the Gōraṇṭla grant (Gōraṇṭla is 20 miles from Amarāvati) to Tāḍikoṇḍa (12 miles south of Amarāvati). to Āntukūrra or Andukūru (a village 2 miles east of Krōsur and 12 miles from Amarāvati) (See *Ep. Ind.* vol. XVII, page 327 and *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, page, 102) and to a field south of the Kṛṣṇabeṇṇa.

E. SIXTH CENTURY: THE VIṢṆUKUṆḌINS.

During the second half of the fifth century, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, a dynasty related with the Vākāṭakas, replaced the Śālaṅkāyanas at Vēngi and reigned at Dendulūru. They were very powerful; circ. 500 A.D.; they crossed the Kṛishṇa river and replaced the Ānanda family at Amarāvati.

Vēlupūru (Vēlpūru) 2 miles north of Krōsūr and 12 miles west from Amarāvati has a very important stone inscription (*Report on Epig.* for 1925-26, page 3.); the inscription (N°. 581 of 1925) mentions king Mādhavavarman of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty.

F. SEVENTH CENTURY: THE CHĀLUKYAS.

Pulikēśin II. put an end to the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty and the Eastern Chālukyas reigned during the seventh century.

CONCLUSION: We can resume in a tabular form the chronological evolution of the documents:

Date.	*Dynasty.*	*Language.*	*Religion.*	*Copper-Plates.*
II Century	Āndhra	Prākṛt	Buddhist	No copper-plates.
III ,,	Ikshvāku	Prākṛt	Buddhist	No copper-plates.
IV ,,	Pallava	Prākṛt	Buddhist & Hindu	Rare copper-plates.
V ,,	Kandara	Prākṛt & Sanskṛt mixed.	Buddhist & Hindu	Rare copper-plates.
VI ,,	Vishṇukuṇḍin	Sanskṛt	Hindu	Several copper-plates.
VII ,,	E. Chālukya	Sanskṛt	Hindu	Numerous copper plates.

A STUDY OF TELUGU ROOTS.*

Dr. C. NARAYANA RAO M.A., L.T., Ph. D.

1. In my lectures which I delivered under the auspices of the Madras University in 1929, I hazarded the suggestion that the Dravidian languages were only a variety of the Prākṛits and adduced many points of resemblance in vocabulary and structure between them and the Prākṛits. I contended on the basis of many facts which I put forth in those lectures that neither the Scythian theory of Caldwell nor the Isolation theory now in the field, much less any extra-Aryan affinity of the Dravidian languages that is sometimes suggested can be maintained with any degree of probability, and that scholars had so far directed their vision far beyond the borders of India while a close affinity is clearly perceptible nearer home. These lectures, I printed under the name of "An Introduction to Dravidian Philology"† and the book received varying degrees of appreciation. The one outstanding criticism of the book is that, it is more in the nature of a speculation and required much greater evidence to carry conviction. Of course, when I published the book, I was deeply conscious of the insufficiency of the data supplied therein, but the limitations under which those lectures were delivered would not allow me to give more details than what were presented in them. I take this opportunity to begin to supply the details which workers in Dravidian Philology would like to know.

2. I begin with a study of the Telugu Roots. I take up Telugu not only because it is my mother-tongue, but also, because it is spoken by the greatest number among the Dravidian peoples and affinities with the Prākṛt can be established with the least difficulty in that language. If Prākṛit affinities could be satisfactorily established with the Telugu roots, it will become easy to establish the Prākṛitic nature of the other Dravidian languages also by simply finding out cognate roots in them.

3. Telugu roots, like Prākṛit roots, and like the roots in any other modern Aryan languages, are generally classified under three heads, *tatsama*, *tadbhava* and *dēśya*. There is not much difficulty with regard to the first two classes for they could be easily derived either from Saṁskṛit or Prākṛit. The '*tatsama*' are either '*Saṁskrita samās*' or

* A paper presented to the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference 1930.

† *An Introduction to Dravidian Philology*, Sadhana Book Depot, Anantapur

Price Rs. 2.

'*Prākṛita samās*' and are formed by the addition of suffixes which have come to be attached to them in the different languages. The '*tadbhavas*' are either '*Saṁskrita-samās*' *or* '*Prākṛita-samās*' and are formed by the addition of suffixes which have come to be attached to them in the different languages. The '*tadbhavas*' are modified forms of *Saṁskrita* or *Prakṛita* originals and have, along with the '*tatsama*' and '*dēśya*' words, almost the same suffixes. Following BEAMES, I would regard the '*Prākṛitasamas*', *Saṁskṛitabhavas* and *Prākṛitabhavas*' as late '*tadbhavas*'. '*Tatsamas*' or '*tadbhavas*, however, are of no use to the solution of the Dravidian problem, for they prove nothing beyond the fact of borrowing. It is only their suffixes that will interest us and as these are found in the '*Dēśyas*' also, it will be sufficient to discuss them under that head.

4. '*Dēśyas*' are regarded as a class by themselves, and the name is glven to such words and forms which could not be traced to any *Saṁskṛita* or *Prākṛitu* originals. Some have considered them to be extra-Aryan. This has been the opinion about the *Prākṛit dēśyas* and those in the-Indo-Aryan vernaculars also. But with the advance of philological research, more and more, these are being brought within the sphere of the Aryan, The opinion that these are extra- Aryan or even Dravidian is gradually giving place to the view that they are early '*tadbhavas*' and that they can be proved to be so by the application of the phonological laws of change, I beg to suggest that, if this is so with regard to the acknowledged Aryan languages, the same may, on investigation, hold good in the case of Telugu and the rest of the Dravidian languages also, if by the application of the same phonological laws, the so-called '*dēśyas*' in the Dravidian languages could be proved to be only early '*tadbhavas*' disguised beyond recognition by the extreme changes that have occured among them. At least, it will not be just to set aside the unanimous opinion of the Native Grammarians without directing our investigation into the correctness or otherwise of the position taken up by them.

5. For the Telugu roots, I rely in this paper on the Telugu Dictionary '*Śabdaratnākaramu*' by Sītārāmāchāryulu. This is the biggest Telugu dictionary and is generally acknowledged as an authority on the Telugu language. I classify the Telugu roots found in this dictionary according to their endings. Sītārāmāchāryulu is a Saṁskṛitist and has not allowed any word to be derived from a non-Saṁskṛitic original where even the semblance of a Saṁskṛit affinity could be suggested. So, when he says a root is '*dēśya*', it may be taken as beyond dispute that he could not trace it to a Saṁskṛit or Prākṛit original. I take, therefore, only such Telugu roots as he has indicated to be '*dēśyas*' and proceed to investigate them.

6. Telugu roots may be classified for the sake of convenience according to their endings, as under. The number, given by the side of each root, indicates the number of Telugu roots with that ending found in the above dictionary,

:ku ఁకు 20, ñku ంకు 10, **ku** కు 62, kku క్కు. 34;

:gu ఁగు 5, ñgu ంగు 15, gu గు 58, ggu గ్గు 15;

:tsu ఁచు 35, ntsu ంచు 448, tsu చు 211, tstsu చ్చు 22:

:dzu ఁజు 7, ñdzu ంజు 5, dzu జు 0, dzdzu జ్జు 2;

:ṭu ఁటు 9, nṭu ంటు 5, ṭu టు 11, ṭṭu ట్టు 21;

;ḍu ఁడు 9, ṇḍu ండు 11, ḍu డు 34, ḍḍu డ్డు 21; ṇu ణు 1;

;tu ఁతు 1, ntu ంతు 0, tu తు 1, ttu త్తు 9;

:bu ఁదు 8, ndu ందు 12, du దు 3, ddu ద్దు 4; nu ను 17, nnu న్ను 4;

:pu ఁపు 8, ṁpu ంపు 11, pu పు 65, ppu ప్పు 12;

:bu ఁబు 0, ṁbu ంబు 1, bu బు 0, bbu బ్బు 9; mu ము 32, mmu మ్ము 17;

yu యు 113, yyu య్యు 11, ru రు 73, ṛu ఱు 22, ṛṛu ఱ్ఱు 3;

lu లు 119, llu ల్లు 118, ḷu ళు, ḷḷu ళ్ళు 8, vu వు 50, vvu వ్వు 11;

su సు 1.

The same arranged according to their descending order of frequency is:—

ṇtsu ంచు 488, tsu చు 211, yu యు 133, lu లు 119, llu ల్లు 118, :gu ఁగు 75, ru రు 73, pu పు 65, ku కు 62, vu వు 50, :tsu ఁచు 35, kku క్కు ḍu డు 34, mu ము 32, ṛu ఱు 28, tstsu చ్చు 22, ṭṭu ట్టు 21, :ku ఁకు 20, nu ను, mmu మ్ము 17, ñgu ంగు, ggu గ్గు 15, ndu ందు, ppu ప్పు 12, ṇḍu ండు, ṁpu ంపు, yyu య్యు vvu వ్వు 11, ñku ంకు 10, :ṭu ఁటు :ḍu ఁడు, ttu త్తు, bbu బ్బు 9, :du ఁదు, :pu ఁపు ḷḷu ళ్ళు 8, :dzu ఁజు 7, ñdzu ంజు 5, ddu ద్దు, nnu న్ను 4, du దు, ṛṛu ఱ్ఱు 3, dzdzu జ్జు 2, ṇu ణు, :tu ఁతు, tu తు, ṁbu ంబు, su సు 1, dzu జు, ntu ంతు, :bu ఁబు bu బు 0.

7. The total number of '*dēśya*' roots recorded in the dictionary is thus 1698. But all these cannot be called basic roots as they include a larger number of dialectic variations and forms disguised by the operation of phonological change. Thus:—

a. Partial denasalization and lengthening of previous vowel nku—īku.

b. Softening of medial surds: *atuku—aduku*, etc.

Vowels:—

INITIAL:

a. a-u: *adaru-udaru* etc.,

i-e: *peṛuku-pīku* etc.,

i-u : *tilakiñtsu-tulakiñtsu* etc.,

e-ē : *esaru-ēsaru* etc.,

MEDIAL:

b. 1. a-u: *adaru-aduru* etc.,

2. i-iy: *bigiñtsu-bigiyiñtsu* etc.,

c. Lengthening of initial vowel: oḍutsu-ōḍiñtsu etc.,

d. Lengthening of medial vowel: āraṭiñtsu-arāṭiñtsu etc.,

e. Loss of medial vowel: peṟuku: perku; igurutsu-igurtsu;

f. Interposition of vowel between the elements of a conjunct consonant: krēḍiñtsu-kēraḍiñtsu etc.,

Consonants:—

INITIAL:

a. Insertion: añtsu-pañtsu; attu-hattu etc.,

b. ts-dz-g: tsīṟu-dzīṟu-gīṟu etc.,

dz-d: dzaḍiyu-daḍiyu etc.,

ḍ-ṟ: paḍu-paṟatsu etc.,

t-d: tanuku-danuku etc.,

d-ḍ: dakku-ḍakku etc.,

p-m: peṟuku-meṟuku etc.,

p-v: veli aliñtsu-veluvaṟiñtsu etc.,

p-h: petstsu-hetstsu etc.,

kk-g: mikkilu-migulu etc.,

MEDIAL:

a. Shortening of medial consonant: etstsariñtsu- ētsariñtsu etc.,

b. Insertion of a medial consonant: ummaliñtsu-ummalikiñtsu etc.,

c. Softening of medial surds: atuku-aduku etc.,

d. Changes in medial consonants:—

k-m: poṭakariñtsu-poṭamariñtsu etc.,

g-v: igiriñtsu iviriñtsu etc.,

ḍ-ṇ: puḍuku-puṇuku etc.,

ḍ-r: mummaḍiñtsu-mummariñtsu etc.,

t-b: galatariñtsu-galabariñtsu etc.,

d-n: vedaku-venaku etc.,

n-r: tsinugu-tsirugu etc.,

n-l: tsinuku-tsiluku etc.,

b-m: gubuku-gumuku etc.,

bb-m: ibbaḍiñtsu-immaḍiñtsu etc.,

r-ḷ: uppariñtsu-uppaḷiñtsu etc.,

ṟ-r: eṟagu-eragu etc.,

ṟ-l: giṟuku-giluku etc.,

l-ḍ-ḷ: velugu-beḍakū-beḷuku etc.,

s-t: pōsariñtsu-pōtariñtsu etc.,

l-r: rangariñtsu-rangariñtsu etc.,

Final Consonants:—

(a) CHANGES:—

ku-gu : tolaku-tolagu etc.,
kk-gg : mrakku-mraggu etc.,
g-y : tselagu-tselayu etc.,
gu-vu : esagu-esavu etc.,
tsanu-tsu : kaḍatsanu-kaḍatsu etc.,
tsu-ñtsu: velārutsu-velāriñṭsu etc.,
ñtsu-llu : tārasiñtsu-tārasillu etc,,
pp-vv : oppu-ovvu etc.,
r-l : viduru-vidulu etc.,
vu-gu : avu-agu etc.,
vv-mm : ovvu-ommu etc.,
s-d : sarasu-saradu etc.,

Loss of medial consonant and compensatory lengthening : tanuku-tāku.

Nasalization : pikku-pingu etc.,

Partial denasalization and lengthening of previous vowel :

Metathesis : kōgu-gōku etc.,

Assimilation:inmaḍiñtsu-immaḍiñtsu; maṟalu-maḷḷu; veḍalu-veḷḷu etc.

Each of the above examples illustrates the operation of a phonetic law by means of which variant forms of a particular root are obtained. Other phonetic laws also have their play, so that, there is an inordinate swelling of the number of the basic forms of Telugu verbs. Strictly speaking, therefore, there cannot exist more than, say, 300 to 400 '*dēṣya*' roots which have to be accounted for on the supposition that they are derived from the Prākṛit languages.

8. I shall proceed to examine the origin of the endings of the above verbal bases. The examples given under each head will be only such bases as are definitely regarded as '*dēśyas*' by the Native Grammarians and lexicographers.

1. KU

The 'ku' is from Sanskrit. *kṛi and the fifth class suffix 'nu', i. e., 'kṛiṇu', which may become either 'kanu' or 'konu' in Prakrit. That it is so, can be known from the fact that forms with the so-called auxiliary verbs 'kanu' and 'konu' have forms in 'ku' also as variants, e.g., ūku, ūkonu ; tāku ; tākonu etc., The nasalization of the ending is due to its association with (a) a nasal, (b) a nasal *plus* consonant, or (c) a consonant like *t*, *th*, *d dh*, *l*, *r*, etc., which have a tendency to be turned into nasals.

Examples.

a. Nasal and kṛi : iku (yam).

b. Nasal and consonant *plus* kṛi : gīku (kṛint).; pīku (bhind).

c. Consonant having a tendency to nasalization *plus* kṛi: kelakū (kṛiś,) * toraku, tolaku, tonaku, (stṛi); toḍāku, tolaku, tonāku, truṭ: sākū (usādh);

Root and fifth class suffix *plus* 'kṛi'; dūku (dhūnu),

Past pass. participle *plus* 'kṛi: beḍakū, beḷaku, vaḍaku, vaṇaku(bhīta).

Prefix *plus* * kṛi : ūku (ud).

Adverb *plus* ' kṛi ; tsīku sīt ; ḍōkū (thūt).

2. NKU.

a. Nasal *plus* kṛi : iñku (yam).

b. Nasal and consonant *plus* ' **kṛi** : nañku (nyañch)

c. Prefix *plus* ' kṛi ' : uñku (ud).

d. Consonant with nasalizing tendency *plus* ' kṛi ' ḍuñku, ḍoñku (adhas).

e. Skt, root and prassive suffix ' ye ' and kṛi ; : ḍiñku (ḍīya), boñku (brūya).

f. Gutteralization of the 'ñch' ending of a Skt. root: koñku, (kuñch or kruñch).

3. KU.

a. Root and class suffix *plus* ' kṛi ' : Examples are :— iṟuku (riś); uḍuku (ush); uṟuku (ruh); tsituku, tsiduku, tsivuku, (chid); tanuku, danuku (tan or tap) ; tasuku (tush); vaḍaku (vart); vetaku, vedaku, vedaku, venaku, (vish); doraku (dhṛi); naduku (naṭ); naṟaku (nas or nash); nūku (nud); paluku (brū); •pituku, piduku (vidh, vēdh); pisuku (pish); puḍuku, puṇuku, (puṭ); besuku (bhraś); bratuku, braduku (vṛidh, vardh); minuku (miñj); etc.

b. Prefix and root *plus* 'kṛi':—utuku, uduku (uddhav); ubuku (utplu) oluku (utsthā); beḷuku, melaku (vilas); etc.

c, Prefix *plus* root :—aḍuku, atuku, aduku, (adhi);

d. Past passive participle *plus* ' kṛi ' :—kuluku (kus); tsinuku. tsiluku (chinna); toḍuku (dhṛita): toluku, tonuku, toṇuku, (dhūta);

e. Denominative : lasuku (laya).

4. KKU.

a. Prefix *plus* ' kṛi': ukku (ud).

b. Root *plus* ' kṛi ' : ekku (ēdh); krukku (kruñch); tsekku (chaksh) tsokku (sukh); tikku (tij); tokku, trokku (tuj or tuḍ) or dhrish; dakku (taj'; nakku (nak); nakku (nud); pokku (plush), bokku (bhuksh); makku (mlā); mukku (mush); vikku (vij); srukku (śush); etc.

c. Denominative ; vakku (bhraś).

5. GU.

a, Root and class suffix *plus* 'kṛi' : aḍagu, aṇagu, āgu (aḍ): alágu(alas); vīgū, īgu (vidh); eragu, eṟagu (ēsh); esagu, esavu, (ish); egu (i): karagu (ghṛi); kalagu (kliś); kāgu, krāgu (kāś); kōgu gōku; (kṛint); goḍagu, goṇagu (gunj); tselagu (chal); tsāgu (sādh); tunugu (tṛṁṭ;) tūgu (tul); torugu,

toṟagu, toḍagu (stṛi); perugu, pergu (vṛidh); posagu (push); maḍagu, maṇagu, maḍugu, maḍgu (mṛid); masagu (mask); saragu surugu (sṛi); etc.

b. Root and 5th class suffix *plus* 'kṛi' : tōgu, dōgu, ḍōgu (dhunu)

c. Prefix *plus* root *plus* 'kṛi' : ūgu (udvīj), odugu (uddhṛi); osagu (upās); nīgu (nivṛit); pasagu (prasar); beḍagu, velagu (vilas).

d. Past passive participle *plus* 'kṛi': kaḍagu, kaṇagu (kṛita); tsinugu, tsirugu (chhinna); toḍagu (dhṛita); tolagu (tṛita); penagu (pinaddha) moṟagu, moṟugu mrōgu (mukhara); etc.

e. Root *plus* 'kṛi' : dāgu (dhā); māgu, mrāgu (mlā); māgu (mush); mrēgu, mēgu (mṛij); rēgu (rich); vīgu (vij); vēgu, vrēgu, (vyadh); sāgu (sādh);etc.

f. Denominative: mesagu (āmish); etc.

g. Adjective *plus* 'kṛi' : logu (tuchha) cf. Hindi luchhā.

The nasalization in the above examples might be due to (i) to the natural tendency to nasalize, (ii) to the presence of a nasal in the original root or (iii) to the addition of the *nu*, *nā* or *n* class suffix.

6. NGU.

a. Root *plus* kṛi' : krungu kruñch; ḍangu, dangu daṁś; ḍongu, dongu (dhā); ḍongu (tul); trungu truṭ; nangu (nas) cf. nāsikā; pongu (plut); brungu (brū); mrangu (mṛid); etc.

b. Prefix and root *plus* kṛi : uppongu (utplut); etc.

c Denominative: mringu (āmish); etc.

d. Adjective *plus* 'kṛi' : longu (tuchha) cf. Hindi luchhā; etc.

7. GU.

a. Root *plus* 'kṛi' : arugu (ṛi); odugu (vyadh); (kasagu karsh or gharsh); goṟugu (kshur); tserugu (śūrp); tsāgu (sādh); dzaragu, soragu (sṛi) ḍigi ḍigu (ḍī); trāgu (tṛish); tirugu (sṛi); peṟugu (vṛidh); malugu, mālugu (mlā); aṟugu (kshay); alugu (rush); ilugu (riś); īgu (īj); īlugu (lī); medugu (mṛid) etc.

b. Root itself used as base : agu (bhū); tagu (sthag); etc.

c. Root and passive particle 'ya' *plus* kṛi : bijugu (brū);

d. Past passive participle *plus* 'kṛi' : kaḍugu (kshālita); kalugu (kṛita); tselagu, tselgu, selagu (chhitta); talgu (dhūta); toḍugu (dhṛita); nuḍugu noḍugu (nuta); poḍugu (vṛiddha); podugu (pushṭha) etc.

e. Prefix and root *plus* 'kṛi' : oragu, oṟagu (udvart); visugu (vyas); vēgu (vilas) etc.

f. Prefix *plus* past passive participle : uḍugu (apa- or upahata); nilugu, nīlugu (nirvṛita) etc.

g. Adverb *plus* 'kṛi' : viḍugu, viṟugu (pṛithak) etc.

8. GGU.

a. Root plus 'kṛi' : iggu ij; gaggu (gad); ḍaggu, daggu (dah); ḍiggu, diggu (ḍī); nuggu (nud); maggu, mraggu (mlā) etc.

b. Prefix and root *plus* 'kṛi' : niggu, neggu (nirvah)

9. TSU.

a. Roots ending in s, ś, sh, ch, ksh, etc.: alatśu (alas); utsu (ujjh); kalatsu (kalush); krātsu (karś); nātsu (naś); putsu (prich); rētsu (rich); lātsu (lash); vrētsu (vraśch) etc.

b. 4th class suffix or passive particle 'ya' with t, th, r, etc. ētśu (ēshy); tsātsu (sādhy); nōtsu (nuty); melatsu (mīl); vētsu (vyadhy);

c. Root *plus* *ach to be: aḍatsu, aṇatsu, ātsu (aḍ); karatsu (ghṛi); ḍātsu, dātsu (dhā); tātsu (taḍ); tūtsu (tul); maḍatsu, maḍutsu maṇutsu, malatsu (mṛid) etc.

d. Root *plus* 'ishy' (its) where 'i' is incremental and 'shy' or 'sy' is futural.

e. Prefix and root *plus* kach:—tōts (uday); etc.

f. Past passive participle *plus* 'y': tolatsu (dhūta or dhavalita); nalatsu (nata); etc.

g. Adjective *plus* 'ya':— lōtsu (tuccha); etc.

10. NTSU.

The nasalization is entirely peculiar to Telugu, Kanarese equivalents of these roots end in 'su'.

a. Root *plus* 'ishy': īsaḍiñtsu (īrshy); kuñtu (kruñch):

b. Prefix *plus* root:—añtsu (ājñā); etc. etc.

c. Prefix and root *plus* 'ishy':— atstsaliñtsu (ācchal); ārațiñtsu (ārat); uñkiñtsu (utkṛi); uttariñtsu utkṛi) or uttṛi); uppatiñtsu (utpat); uppariñtsu, uppaḷintsu (utplu); ūkiñtsu (utsāh); ūṭiñtsu (utsthā); etc.

d. Prefix and past passive participle *plus* 'ishy':— avaghaḷiñtsu (avakṛita or avaghṛishṭa); āvuliñtsu (avakṛita); onariñtsu (upapanna);

e. Past passive participle *plus* 'ishy':— aṇṭiñtsu (añkta); aggatiñtsu (arghita, arhita, or aṁhita); uddiñtsu (yukta); etc.

f. Denominative:—igiriñtsu, iviriñtsu, chigiriñtsu, chiviriñtsu (ṣikhara); ivataḷiñtsu himakṛita;

g. Re-duplicatios of root *plus* 'ishy':—aṭamaṭiñtsu; etc.

h. *Avyaya* and past passive participle *plus* 'ishy':— aḍakiñtsu, aṇakiñtsu, (adhaskṛrita); alamaṭiñtsu (alam aṭ); alavariñtsu (alam pat); igiliñtsu, iviliñtsu (ihīkṛita); etc.

i. Nasalization of root-in ś, s, sh, or ksh:—uñtsu vas; etc.

(To be Continued)

SATALURU COPPER PLATE GRANT OF GUNAGA VIJAYADITYA III.

BHAVARAJ V. KRISHNA RAO, B.A., B.L.

This inscription was first published in the *Bhārati*, a Telugu monthly miscellany of Madras, (volume I, part 1, pp. 90-110) in 1924. The editorial notes were prepared by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao. M.A., but his sad and untimely death prevented him from revising them and preparing the article for the press; the task of revision and giving the final form fell upon his friend and co-worker, Mr. M. Sōmaśēkhara Śarma of the Andhra Encyclopaedia Office, Madras, who published the inscription under the name of the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao himself. This inscription being an important one and also not having been noticed by the Government Epigraphical Department in their *Annual Reports* till now, I propose to publish in English in this Journal. Some slight errors committed by the learned editor and other facts which will be discussed in the cousre of this paper have induced me to re-edit the inscription in English. I edit this from excellent ink impressions supplied to me kindly by my friend Mr. Somaśēkhara Śarma.

The plates, it is said, were found in Sātalūru, a village in Bandar tālūka, in the Krishna district, while digging old earth from a mound for carting it as manure to the fields. They were found carefully preserved in an earthen pot. It is not known in whose land these platee were discovered, but somehow they came into the hads of Mr. K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu, Editor of the *Bhārati* and the *Āndhrapatrika* who kindly passed them to late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, for examination and publication in his Journal. After the publication they were returned to Mr. Nageswara Rao Pantulu, and are still lying in the his office.

The inscription is engraved apparently, on seven plates altogether, which are strung on a ring which was not cut by the time the plates reached Mr. Nageswara Rao Pantulu. The plates are thick and are in a good state of preservation. They measure each, 9½″ × 4″; there is writing on all the plates except on the first side of the first and the outer side of the last plate except for a few letters on it. The ring on which the plates were hung is of a diametre of 4½″: its ends are secured in a seal, the diametre of which being 2½″. On the surface of the seal are to be seen counter sunk in relief, the figure of a wild boar *varāha*, elephant goad *aṁkuśa*, sun and moon and the usual legend

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'*Tribhuvnāmkuśā*'. ° To the back of the seal where the ends of the ringf are secured, there are the figures of Gaṇēśā and Lakshmī on either side in bold relief. These figures are most beautiful, and the seal as well. Lakshmaṇa Rao says that this is the most beautiful Eastern Chālukyan or any other seal he ever saw.

The writing on the plates has been well preserved throughout. The characters employed belong to the southern class of alphabets of the time and the country to which the inscription belongs, and are known to the Epigraphists as cursive form which is later in time than the square type of letters used in the earlier period. The cursive form of alphabets acquired two shapes in the Vēṅgi country, one the round and the other slanting. The former was more beautiful and therefore became more popular in course of time. Though the slanting type of letters were used till the days of Rājarāja and Vijayāditya VII., the round or the cursive form alone was popular and survived the Chālukyan epoch. Of the six grants of the time of this king including the present inscription, only th. Pāmulapāḍu[1] and the Ūrpuṭūr[2] grants are written in the slanting type of letters while the other four are written in the cursive form of letterss But, it might be that the Masulipatam Plates[3] of the king were written in the earlier part of the king's reign, as still some older forms of letters are seen there. Though the Pōnangi Plates are written in the cursive form of letters, there is "one peculiarity", as observed by the Government Epigraphist and that is, "in the Pōnangi Plates, the top strokes of letters are formed by double dots instead of a horizontal line connecting them as in the Masulipatam Plates."[4] It may be said, therefore, that it was in the reign of this king Vijayāditya III. that the Āndhra and Kannaḍa alphabets came to be differentaited, the former becoming cursive and round and the latter open and slanting. The writing on the plates is neatly and most beautifully done; but the writer was certainly either careless in engraving the letters or he was utterly ignorant of the language he was copying, for the result is, the charter abounds in innumerable mistakes.

The orthography calls in for some remarks. The scribe has written long vowels short and short vowels long, and invariably omitted the dot denoting the *ansvāra* where it ought to have been found and placed it where it is not required. For the secondary form of ṛ the scribe wrote *ri*, and this might be due to to the habit of the people pronouncing the vowel ṛ as *ri*. As regards individual letlers, the chief points to be noted are that, *ja* is written in both the open and square as well as in the late rcursive forms. The earlier form is seen in lines 5, 10 and (in words like *Kubja*, *tanūja* and

1 Unpublished.
2 *Journal of the Telugu Academy* vol. 1 pp. 140—150.
3 *Ep. Ind.* V. p. 122.
4 Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy 1909 p. 107

ātmajaḥ while the cursive form is seen side by side in lines 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 in words like *Jayasiṁha*, *Vishṇurājaḥ*, *Dōgarājḥ*, and *Vijayādilyaḥ* Thus it appears from the use of the two forms of this letter, as well as the appearance of the open form of the initial vowel *i*, that the earlier and the later forms of alphabets were in use in the reign of Vijayāditya III., though it might be, the earlier form was fast losing its popularity. This view finds support also in the fact that the scribe makes a differance between the latter *da* and *ḍa*, and this differentiation is particulary marked in line 45 where the two letters are to be seen side by side. The letter *ḍa* is written very much alike *da*, but with this difference: there is a loop in *ḍa* with a dot above it. The Dravidian letter *ḻ* is also seen in this record in three places (lines 54, 55 and 82) and this shows that, that peculiar sound was pronounced in the Andhra country in the 9th Century A.D.

The language of the inscription is throughout Sanskrit, being partly in prose and partly in verse. There are altogether eleven verses in lines, 17-19, 22-25, 31-37, 75-80 and 82-85, and the rest is prose. There is, however, one noteworty fact which deserves special mention and that is the use of *champaka* metre in this grant. The poet in describing Kalivittara (Kali Vishnuvardhana V.), father of the donor of the grant, used *champaka* metre with *prāsa* in all the four *pādas* in the second letter, and this is very interesting. The use of the *prāsa* in the second letter in all the four feet is after the tradition of the Āndhra prosody. The *ślōka* runs as follows:—

अरिनृपवाजिवारणपदाति महाभ्रविराममारुतः ।
परकरिकरि सुस्थितासिभरुचि प्रविनाशन भांनुंसन्निभः ।
गुरुतरदीन भागवत मानवमानित कल्पपादपः ।
वरकरिगल्लभूमिपभुजा सिरहाजिभुवि प्रहासते ॥

Though the *champaka* metre properly belongs to Sanskrit prosody, it was not popular at any time among the Sanskrit poets of repute and none of the great poets ever employed it, much less with *prāsa*, in the Āndhra fashion. The *champaka* metre with its peculiar features of *yati* and *prāsa* is one of the most popular metres in the Āndhra and Kannada languages. In Āndhra and Kannaḍa the *prāsa* is observed in the second letter in all the four feet, and *yati* in the first and eleventh letter. of every *pāda* unlike in Sanskrit. The above verse though in Sanskrit is composed very much in accordance with the Āndhra tradition. This feature is interesting as a landmark in the history of Telugu prosody. From the existence of a verse in *champaka* metre in this inscription of the Telugu country, two centuries before Nanniya Bhaṭṭa, it can be presumed that the Telugu-Sanskrit poets of the Gudrahāra vishaya, nay of

the Andhra country employed the *champaka* metre, with the peculiaries of the *prāsa* and probably *yati* also, in the Andhra language. But it is can not be said with any certainity that the Telugu poets of the Ninth century of the time of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III., used the *champaka* metre with *yati* also like Nanniya. At any rate we have to assume that the use of the *yati* was later than the use of *prāsa*, until future researches bring, to light new facts to the contrary, in the Āndhra and in Kannada languages and that the *champaka* metre with the restrictions of *yati* and *prāsa* became popular, sometime immediately in the Pre-Nanniya Epoch, in the tenth century A. D.

The facts recorded in this inscription are mostly known to us from the other grants of the king, namely the Guntūr Plates,[5] the Pōnangy Plates, Ūrpuṭūru Grant and the unpublished Pāmulapādu Copper-plate grant noticed by late Mr. Lakshmaṇa Rao but they have never been properly discussed. The donor of this grant is no doubt the *first* king of the dynasty to give a complete list of kings that preceded him, in a chronological order with the duration of their reigns and their exploits. Previous to this prince the kings of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty were not in the habit of giving the names of their ancestors from the beginning but were content with giving their ancestory up to three generations only. Even this king in his Masulipatam Plates did not give more than three generations, and this induces me to assign that grant to a very early period of his reign, in all probability, shortly after he established himself on the throne. In his other grants which are nearly four in number, he merely mentioned the names of his ancestors from Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, gave the duration of their reigns and a few other facts about them. But in this grant one peculiarity is noticeable and that is, this inscription gives a chronological account of the previous kings in an analytical manner. Thus the record states after the usual legendary introduction and the names of the king's predecessors, that there were *five* kings of the name of Vishṇuvardhana, *two* of Jayasiṁha, *one* by name Mangi Dōgarājā and *three* kings by the name of Vijayāditya, including the donor himself. This is certainly unusual; and this peculiar feature compels us to assume that this might be the earliest of all his grants till now discovered with the exception of the Masulipatam plates. Thus this inscription might be the first charter of the king which begins with the historical geneology and description of the kings form the days of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, and Vijayaditya III. must, therefore, be taken to have taken considerable pains to collect all the historical information about his predecessors from the dilapidated archives of his government, and thus set up a new model for the formal charters of his dynasty. This fact abounds

5 Unpublished; *C. P. No, 5 of 1911—12,*

with his high historic sense which was so rare in those days even amongst his contemporaries, the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Eastern Gāngas, the Western Gāngas and the Chōḷas. Verily, the Andhras may feel proud of this illustritious and intelligent prince who ruled over their country roughly eleven hundred years ago.

This inscription says that after Kubja Vishṇuvardhana reigned for 18 years his son *Sakala'ōkāśraya* Jayasiṁha Vallabha reigned for 33 years. Then his brother's (Indrabhattaraka) son Vishṇurāja II. for 9 years; then his son Mangi Dōga (Yuva) rāja for 25 years; his son Jayasiṁha II: for 13 years; his younger step-brother Kokkili for six months; having ousted him, his (Kokkili's) elder (uterine) brother Vishṇuvardhana (III.) for 35 years; his son Vijayāditya (I.) for 18 years; then his son Vishṇuvardhana (IV.) ruled the Vēñgīmaṇḍala *twelve thousand* for 35 years; then his son Vijayāditya II. after destroying the Gānga race root and branch like a fierce wind, fought for twelve years against the commanders of the Vallabha king, (meaning the Rashṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III)., built 108 temples to god Śiva under his surname *Narēndrēśvara*, finally wrested from his own brother Bhīma Saḷuke, the kingdom of Vēngi by defeating him, and ruled for *forty* years. He was succeded by his son Kali Viṭṭara who reigned for eighteen months; his son was Vijayāditya (III) who was also known as *Vīra makaradhvajaḥ*, succeded him. He weighed himself against gold several times, and pleased the brahmans by distributing it to them, He was praised by them as *Guṇake nallān*, meaning probably 'the most virtuous', and reigned over the whole of the *Dakshiṇāpatha* together with the *Trikalinga* country. This prince, it is said, at the instance of his brother Nṛipakāma who is described as born of a Haihaya princess, gave away the village of Śānta grāma on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, to one hundred brahmanas, free of all taxes and other indemnities.

Compared with the other grants of this king, both published and unpublished, there are however, some slight discrepancies, in the number of years of reign allotted to each prince that preceded him. These discrepancies are more when compared with the records of the later period. For instance Jayasiṁha I. is given reign a thirty years by the Paḍankalūru Grant of Ammarāja II.[6] as well as in the Chellūru plates of Kulottunga Chola II.[7] All the inscriptions of Vijayāditya III. on the other hand give him a reign of thirty three years. In spite of this, Dr. Fleet chose to accept the statements of some later kings and allot thirty years only to Jayasiṁha I.[8] And this is certinly unjustifiable, because the earlier records

6 *Ind. Ant.* vel. VII p. 15
7 *Ind, Ant.* vol. XIv p. 55
8 *Ind. Ant.* vol. XX p. 97

are entitled to greater weight than the later ones. But there is also another view possible : it might be that Jayasiṁha reigned for thirty three years, and the first three years in conjunction with his father Kubja Vishṇuvardhana. For some reason or other the later sovereigns might have ignored the first 3 years of his reign which fell in the reign of his father. Or it might be that there was something of three years of terrible and devastating warfare in the last part of his reign with the king of Kalinga which resulted in his ignominious defeat and death, as recorded by Danḍin in his *Daśakumāracharita.* Then, the death of his brother, Indrabhaṭṭāraka after a remarkably brief rule of seven days on the battle-field, probably against a confederacy of foes led by the Eastern Ganga king Indravarman and the vanquished Vishṇukuṇḍin prince, also points us to the same conclusion. Another discrepancy is about the reign of Vishṇuvardhana III. While other grants of this king Vijayāditya III. give him a reign of 37 years, the present record allots to him 35 years only. This might be due to an error in composing the grant or might be due to a mistake committed in the early charters of the king and corrected afterwards in the later grants. As regards Vijayāditya II. all the records of Vijayaditya III. give him a reign of forty years except one, which gives him a reign of 41 years, and this might be due to the calculation of a few months over a half year as one year, Dr. Fleet has without any justication discarded the statements of the earlier kings which are certinly more reliable than the later ones and accepted for him a period of 44 years of rule.[9] Thus, though a few months one way or the other do not matter much, Vijayāditya II. should be taken to have reigned only for 40 years instead of 44 years. Likewise, Vijayāditya I. is stated to have reigned for 18 years only in this record while the other inscrptions of the king give him a duration of 19 years' reign. This discrepancy, is perhaps due to a mistake committed in the calculation of dates etc. in the earlier part of the king's reign by the superintendent of the public records, but later on corrected or revised; and that is the reason why in all the other charters of the king a reign of 19 years has been uniformally given to Vijayāditya I. It is because that a systematie attempt was made to give a chronologictl account of the kings of the dynasty till the reign of Vijayāditya III., that I attribute this subjoined grant to the early period of Vijayaditya III's reign; at any rate, I assume it to be the earliest of all the inscriptions of the king, thus far discovered with the exception of the Masulipatam plates. Here is the table which gives at a glance the duration of the reigns of the kings that preceded Gunaga-Vijayāditya III. according to several grants his and also according to Fleet's calculation.

9 *Ind. Ant*, vol. XX p. 101.

Names of the kings	*The present Grant.*	*Pāmula pāḍu grant.*	*Guntūr Plates.*	*Ūrpuṭūru Plates.*	*According to Dr. Fleet.*
Kubjavishṇuvardhana I.	18 yrs	18 yrs	18 yrs	18 yrs	18 years.
*2. Jayasiṁha I.	33 yrs	33 ,,	33 ,,	33 ,,	30 ,,
3. Vishṇuvardhana II.	9 ,,	9 ,,	9 ,,	9 ,,	9 ,,
4. Mangiyuvarāja.	25 ,,	25 ,,	25 ,,	25 ,,	25 ,,
5. Jayasiṁha II.	13 ,,	13 ,,	13 ,,	13 ,,	13 ,,
6. Kokkili.	6 months	6 mts	6 mts	6 mts	6 months.
7. Vishṇuvardhana III.	35 yrs	37 ,,	39 ,,	37 ,,	37 years.
*8. Vijayāditya I.	18 ,,	19 yrs	19 yrs	19 yrs	18 ,,
9. Vishṇuvardhana IV.	35 ,,	36 ,,	35 ,,	36 ,,	35 ,,
*10. Vijayāditya II.	40 ,,	41 ,,	40 ,,	40 ,,	44 ,,
*11. Kalivittara.	18 ms	20 ms	20 ms	20 ms	18 months.

Another interesting fact mentioned in this grant is that Vishṇuvardhana IV. ruled over Vēṅgimaṇḍala twelve thousand while nothing of that sort has been stated with reference to his father Vijayāditya I. To me, this appears to suggest that the extent of the Eastern Chalukyan kingdom was reduced in his time to Vēṅgīmaṇḍala twelve thousand only, on account of incessant warfare with the Rasṭrakūtas and their allies.[10] The expression Vēṅgimaṇḍala twelve thousand, is inexplicable Lakshmana Rao thought it to mean, the population of the Vengimandala; while other scholars considered it to express the number of revenue paying units or *Grāmās* in the territorial division called Vēṅgīmaṇḍala. I think both the theories are untenable. 'Twleve thousand' might be the amount of the revenue expressed in the coinage of the country, of the time, preferably, in gold *varāhas.* The expression cannot in any sense mean either the population or the number of villages or revenue paying units. It might also convey a sense of its extent expressed in terms of *kros* (two mile) which is a very ancient word denoting the distance; that is to say Vēṅgīmaṇḍala whose area was twelve thousand square *kros.* Mr. Lakshmana Rao quotes from *Paṇḍitārādhya-charitra* of Pālkurki Sōmanātha Kavi of the 13th century, a long passage wherein the extents of various countries in ancient India are described. We have several instances in the inscriptions of South India where references to the extent of the countries are given in a similar manner. For instance, we have *Sārtha-sapta-laksha* of Dakshiṇapatha,[11] the *Sārtha-sapta-laksha* of Raṭṭavāḍi, Gangavāḍi ninty six thousand, Nōlaṁbavāḍi

10 See my *History of Rajahmundry* in this Journal above vol, III p. 148 where this fact was discussed at some length.

11 Ranastipundi Grant of Vimaladitya; *Ep, Ind.* vol, VI p. 352.

32,000, Banavāsi 12,000, Pākanāḍu 21,000. Though Mañchana Kavi mentions Pākanāḍu as consisting 21,000 *grāmas*,[12] grama cannot be taken to mean a village but a unit of extent or area. Nevertheless, there is no reference in any of the earlier inscriptions to Pākanāḍu with 21,000 grāmas prior to Manchana Kavi who flourished in the early part of the 13th century.

All the inscriptions of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III, except the Masulipatam plates mention that Vijayaditya II., surnamed Narēndra-mṛigarāja had a brother named Bhīma Saluke, who held Vēṅgi as a vassal of the Rāshṭrakūta king and that the former wrested the kingdom from him and reigned for forty years. Dr. Fleet and Dr. Bhaṇḍarkar thought that the Vēṅgī king who was held as a vassal by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III. (A.D. 784—814) to be Vijayāditya II. (A.D. 799—840) because he happened to be his contemporary.[13] But Vijayāditya II. cannot be taken to be the prince that paid such humiliating allegience to Gōvinda III., that he went to build the walls of Mānyakhēṭa 'at the half utterance of the sentence by a messenger'. Now the subjoined grant and lhe other grants discovered thus far, particularly the Pāmulapāḍu, Guntur and Pōnangi Plates prove that it was Bhīma Saḷuke who held Vēṅgī as a vassal of Gōvinda III. for a period of twelve years in all probability, and that it was from him that Vijayāditya II. wrested the kingdom after sucessfully carrying on a war with his brother on the one hand and the Rāshṭrakūṭa and Western Gāṅga armies on the other. It was only during the last days of Gōvinḍa III. when his power way weakened and when all the powers of the north and the south entered into a confederacy and threatened to bring about the disruption of the the great Rashṭrakūṭa empire so powerfully built by him that Vijayāditya II. rallied his forces and drove out his brother from the country, defeated the combined armies of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and Gāṅgās and become its undisputed master. To expiate for the sins, probably, of killing his own kith and kin during that twelve years of internecine warfare, that Vijayadita II built 108 temples to the god Śiva under his own name as *Narēndrēśvara-svāmin* all over Vēṅgīmaṇḍala.

The subjoined grant mentions that Vijayāditya III. planted before the threshold of his residence, the invincible banner containing the symbols of the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā, the sun and the moon, and the *pālikētana*, and that at the hearing of the five great sounds made by his troops his (Vijayāditya's) enemies were terrified. The symbols of the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamuna as well as the *pālikētana* were the royal insignia of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānyakhēṭa, acquired by Govinda III.

12 In *Keyurabahucharitram* dedicated to Nanduri Gôvinda mantri minister to the laet prince of the Velanânti family of Tsandavou.

13 See above vol. III p. 151 *History of Rajahmundry*,

The fact of Vijayāditya's planting the *pālīdhvaja* with the symbols of the Gangā and Yamunā at his thrsehold seems to suggest that by the date of the grant, he defeated Rāshṭrakūṭas and crushed their power completely. Vijayāditya III. seems to bear another surname *Vīramakaradhvajaḥ* in addition to those mentioned his Guntur plates, namely *Manuja prākāra Raṇaranga śūdraka, Vikramadhavaḷa, Parachakrarāma, Nṛpati-martāṇḍa, Birudānka Bhīma, Arasanka kēsari Guṇake nallān* and *Tripurāmartya Mahēśvara*. The last mentioned surname is also found in the Veḍatalūru Grant of his successor Chālukya Bhīma I.

The village granted is Śāntagrāma and is said to have been situated in the district (*viṣaya*) of Gudrahāra, which is apparently identical with the modern town of Guḍivāḍa. The Gudrahāra vishaya at the time of this inscription seems to have comprised the modern tālūkas of Guḍivāḍa, Kaikalūru, Masulipatam or Bandar and a little tract on the southern side of the river Krishna. It is therefore possible that Śāntagrāma, the village granted might be identified with Sātalūru in the Bandar taluk, the place where there plates were discovered and the boundary villages mentioned in the inscription help us in that direction considerably. The villages Urivi, Aṟutagūru, Munjulūru and Tuṁburuballi are still existing, and curiously enough with very much the identical names, excepting for slight phonetical changes. Only Aṟutagūru is now known as Aṟtamūru and Tuṁburuballi has become Tuṁbiḍi. All these villages are now situated around and in the neighbourhood of Śāntagrāma, which is called today Sātalūru. The reason for the change in the name of the village granted is quite apparent. *Ūru* in Telugu, means *grāma* in Sanskrit and Śāntagrāma therefore in Telugu became Śāntalūru, which again in the lapse of time, on account of phonetical changes peculiar to the Telugu Language, became Sātalūru, the initial palatal sibilant *śā* becoming dental sibilant *sā*., and the medial *n* dropping out altogether. It might also, be that the poet in composing the grant sanskritised the Prakrit or the original name Sātalūru (called after the half mythical and half historical ancestor of the Sātavahanas) into Śāntagrāma. But both these are mere conjectures. The village 'Śāntagrāna was bounded on the east by Penubūnḍi, on the south by Aṟutagūru, on the south west by Muṁjulūru, on the west by Urivi, on the north by Tuṁburuballi and on the north-east by Muluḍupendōṟu. Of these villages two only, Penubūnḍi and Muluḍupendōṟu are not capable of identification.

There is one expression in the grant *nāti kunṭha* which I am not able to understand. Lakshmana Rao did not notice this. The village is said to have been granted along with the *nāti kunṭha* (ll. 34 and 40). I have not been able to trace this expression to any of the Sanskrit or Telugu Dictionaries; and therefore I cannot take it to be purely either a Sanskrit or a Telugu word. It might be a compound of

two words, Sanskrit and Telugu. As we know, that *kunṭa* in Telugu means either a tank or a term of land measurement, we might take the expression *nāti kunṭha* to mean 'with all the tanks adjoining the village.'

The donees of the grant were all residents of villages situated in the modern Gunṭūr and Krishna districts. Vangiparru Kāraṁchēḍu, Karrora, Vagiparru, Upputūru, Krāñja, Krōvaśri, Rāyūru, Kunduru, and Śrīpuram are said to be villages from which the donees came. Vangiparru and Vagiparru might be identical, the scribe having omitted the dot denoting the *anusvāra*. Except Karrora and Kunduru, the remaining villages are still existing with slightly altered spelling. Krāñja is Kāja, Krōvaśri is probably Kovvali and Śrīpuram is Siripuram is Tenali Tāluka.

The executor (Ājñapti) of this grant is Pāṇḍaranga, the great-grand-son of Bhaṭṭakāla (ll. 82-83.). In all the grants of Vijayāditya III, Paṇḍaranga figures as the *ājñapti*, and he is said to be the minister and commander-in-chief of the king. He is described as *Mahāgunaḥ* "who made his enemies pay obeisance to him by the victories he had obtained with his sword." The Pōnangi plates of the king mention Kaḍeya rāya, father of Pāṇḍaranga who died fighting by the side of his master Parachakrarāma i.e. Vijayāditya III., on the battle field.

The names of the donees and their residence are given as follows:

Names	Residence	Shares	Names	Residence	Shares
Gotra not mentioned.			*Parāśara Gōtra (contd.)*		
1 Yajñaśarman	Vangiparru	3	17 Bavvaśarman	,,	1
2 Gunḍaśarman	,,	1	18 Dugaśarman	,,	1/2
3 Vidaḍiśarman	,,	1	19 Bhīmaśarman	,,	1
4 Drōṇaśarman	,,	1/2	*Bhāradvāja Gōtra*		
Kata Gōtra			20 Śivaśarman	Karrora	3
5 Budaḍiśarman	,,	2	21 Rēvaśarman	,,	1
6 Vennaśarman	,,	2	22 Sivikurraśarman	,,	1
Kutsa Gōtra			23 Agyapaśarman	Krōva Śrī	1
7 Tūrkaśarman	Krova Śrī	2	24 Vennaśarman	,,	1
8 Boppaṇaśarman	,,	1	25 Gunḍaśarman	,,	1
Parāśara Gōtra			26 Kēśavaśarman	Upputūru	1
9 Drōṇaśarman	Karamichēḍu	1½	27 Gunḍaśarman	,,	1
10 Kañchiśarman	,,	2	28 Nāgaśarman	,,	1
11 Drōṇaśarman	,,	2	29 Kandaśarman	Kunduru	1
12 Baddiśarman	,,	5	30 Eraśarman	Kāraṁchēdu	1
13 Vīraśarman	Upputūru	1½	31 Drōṇaśarman	,,	1
14 Chāmiśarman	,,	1	32 Sivaśarman	,,	1/2
15 Trivikarmaśarman	,,	1	33 Vallavayyaśarman	,,	1
16 Bhīmaśarman	,,	1	34 Rēvaśarman	,,	1

Names	*Residence*	*Shares*
Śandila Gōtra		
35 Pētaśarman	Karrora	1
36 Ayyappaśarman	,,	1½
Dēvarata Gōtra		
37 Vakaśarman	,,	1
38 Savvaśarman	,,	1
39 Kundiśarman	,,	1
Harīta Gōtra		
40 Rēvaśarman	Vañgiparru	2
41 Drōṇaśarman	,,	1½
42 Kaṁchiśarman	Kāraṁchēdu	1
43 Mahīdharaśarman	,,	1
44 Dēvakaraśarman	,,	1
45 Sankaraśarman	,,	1
46 Sabadiśarman	Śrīpuraṁ	2½
Kōṇdiṇda (Kauṇḍinya) Gōtra		
47 Śrīdharaśarman	Va(ñ)giparru	3
48 Damaśarman	,,	1
49 Kēśavaśarman	,,	1
50 Trivikramaśarman	,,	1/2
51 Drōṇaśarman	Krañja	1
52 Irūgamaśarman	,,	1
53 Bhīmaśarman	,,	1
54 Madhuvaṇaśarman	,,	1
55 Sōmaśarman	Vangiparru	1½
56 Drōṇaśarman	,,	1
57 Mādhavaśarman	,,	1
58 Drōṇaśarman	,,	1

Names	*Residence*	*Shares*
Kausika Gōtra		
59 Koṇḍiśarman	Upputūru	2
68 Piṭṭamaśarman	Krāñja	1
61 Ravaṇiśarman	Krōva Śrī	1
62 Drōṇaśarman	Kunduru	1
Kāśyapa Gōtra		
63 Ṛudvaśarman	Upputūru	1
64 Gōḷaśarman	,,	1/2
65 Rudvaśarman	,,	1½
66 Gōḷaśarman	,,	1
67 Eṛaśarman	,,	2
68 Mahākālaśarman	Krañja	1
69 Drōṇaśarman	,,	1/2
70 Nārāyaṇaśarma	,,	1
71 Bōpaśarman	Rayūru	1
Kaṇva Gōtra		
72 Savvaśarman	Karaṁchēdu	2
73 Chāmiśarman	,,	1
Ṛadhītara Gōtra		
74 Nārāyaṇaśarman	Krōvaśrī	1
Lōhita Gōtra		
75 Gōyindaśarman	Karaṁchēdu	1
Ātrēya Gōtra		
76 Nārārayaṇaśarman	Upputūru	3
Agnivēśya Gotra		
77 Mayindamaśarman	Rāyūru	1
Gautama Gōtra		
78 Drōṇaśarman	Kunduru	1
79 Baṭaśarman	Vangiparru	2

Though the grant records gift of the Village to a hundred brāhmaṇas, only 79 names are given, and the remaining 21 are left out. Probably it was due to a mistake on the part on the scribe or the composer of the grant. Of these 100 donees, 20 bear the title *Bhaṭṭa*, 30 studied the four Vedas, 30 studied three Vedas, and 20 studies one Vēda.

The name of the poet who composed grant is not mentioned. But it is said that it was inscribed by the scribe Lēkhakāditya, born of the Viśvakarma *kula*, who knew the record well. He is described as being very old, as old as the Viśvakarma himself and as having built a *Ghantaśāla* probably meaning a bell factory or a factory to manufacture styles (*ghanṭa*).

TEXT.[1]

First plate, Second side.

1 स्वस्ति। श्रीमतां सकलभुवन संस्तूय मानमानव्यस गोत्राना[2] हरीतिपुत्रानां[3] कौ

2 शिकी वरप्रसाद लब्धराज्यनां[4] मातृगन[5] परिपाली[6] तानां स्वामिमहासेन पादा

3 नुध्यातानां भगवण्णारयण[7] प्रसाद समासादित वरवर[8] हलान्छने क्षन[9] क्ष

4 णीवाशि[10] कृताराति मण्डलानां अश्वमेधावभृथस्न(ा*) न पावितृ[11] कृतवपुषां चालु

5 क्यानां कुलमलन्करिष्णो: सत्याश्रयवल्लभेन्द्रस्य भ्रताद् कुब्ज विष्णुवर्द्धन[12] अष्टा

6 श वर्षनि[13] तस्यसूनु: सकललोकाश्रयो जयसिंहवल्लभ: त्रयस्तृशद्वर्षानि[14]

7 तस्यानुजस्य इन्द्रभट्टारकस्य प्रृय[15] तनय: विष्णुराज: नववर्षानि[16] तस्यसुतं[17]

Second plate, First side.

8 मंगिदौश[18] राज: पञ्चविंशतिवर्षानी[19] तस्यपुत्र: जयसिहवल्लभ:[20] त्रयोदश व

9 षणी[21] तस्यानुज: द्वैमातुरकोक्किलि. षण्मसात्[22] तस्याग्रज:विष्णुर[ा*]ज:स्व[ा]नुजमुच्चा

10 ट्य पञ्चतृंश[23] द्वषाणी[24] तस्यात्मज: विजयादित्यमहाराज अष्टाद(शव*)र्षानि[25] तस्यत

11 नय: विष्णुवर्द्धन: पञ्चतृंशद्वर्षाणी[26] द्वादशसहस्रप्रमाण वे[न]गी[27] मण्डलं[28]

12 मन्वपालयन्[29] तम्यज्येष्ठ: विजयादित्य: आदित्य इव सततोदयकरि[30] विन्ध्याट

13 विव[31] सुवंश शताधार: मेरुरिव सुर्न्नवर्न्नीकृत[32] तनु:(*) हरजट(ा) मकुट इ(वगं)गा

14 रव प्रतिबन्धन समर्त्त[33] सुरपतिगज इव सततदान [करी] विष्णुरि(व*) व

1. From the ink impressions supplied to me kindly by Mr. M. S. Sarma of the Telugu Encyclopaedia Office.

2 Read *gōtrāṇām.* 3 Read *putrāṇām.* 4. Read *rājyānām* 5. Read *gaṇa* 6. Read *pālita.* 7. Read *Nārāyaṇa* 8. Read *varāha* 9. Read *kṣaṇa* 10. Read *kṣaṇa-vaśī* 11. Read *pavitrī* 12. The dots found by Lakshmaṇa Rao above the letter *na*, and which he meant were inserted for denoting the *visarga* are not in fact dots but corrosions of the metal caused probably on account of rust washing on the plate. 13. Read *varṣāṇi* 14 Read *Strayas-trimśad-varṣāṇi.* 15. Read *priya* 16. Read *varṣāṇi* 17. Read *sutaḥ.* 18. The letter '*śa*' is not clear, it looks like '*ga*' 19. Read *varṣāṇi* 20. Read *simha* 21. Read *varṣāṇi* .22 Read *ṣaṇmāsān* 23. Read *trimśa* 24. Read *varṣāṇi* 25. Read *varṣāṇi* 26. Read *trimśad-varṣāṇi* 27. Read *Vēṅgī* 28. The annsvara after *la* is superfluous. 29. Read *pālayat* 30; Read *karī* 31. Read *viva* 32. Read *suvarṇavarṇī-krita,* 33. Read *samarthaḥ*

Second plate, Second side.

15 लि रिपु मतण:[34] शेषमहानाग इव भूधरणक्षमभुजः महात्रतिव[35] महाशंख

16 ध्वनि विराजनः स[कलगंग*]कुल गर्ज्जज्जलदघटकोटिवित्रासन विशिष्ट मा

17 रुतः अपिचं[36] [37]श्री[मद्धर्म्म]स्य मूर्त्ती[38] स्सुभ(ट*)मधुपस द्रोधना मेारु[39]हाभ[ः।*] शौर्याग्न्यु

18 त्पति[40] बीजप्रय[41]वचनमनेराकरः[42] सर्व्वसन्तो[।*] कीर्त्ति[43] स्त्रिवल्लभ स्सत्कुलग्रहम

19 मलं सत्यवानी[44] कुमार्य्या [ः।*] विद्वद्वृन्दस्यधाम प्रकटमवनिपो गोत्रनिस्त[ा*]रकां कः (॥ १*)

20 अष्टोत्तरशत न(रे*)न्द्रेश्वरदेव(ा*)लयानां कर्त्ता द्वादश वर्ष युद्धं वल्लभेन्द्र दण्ड

21 नायकैःसह भीमसलुकेन(ा)मानस्व(ा)नुजं निर्ज्जित्य गृ[ही*]त वेंगिमण्डल (ः) चत्वारिंश[45]

Third plate, First side.

22 द्वर्षाणि (।*) तस्यसुतः। [46]अरिनृपवाजिवारणपदाति महाभ्रविराममारुतः (*।) पर

23 करिकरि सस्ति[47]तासिभरुचि प्रविनाशन भानुसन्निभः(।*) गुरुतरादिन[48] भागव त[49]

24 म[ा]नवम[ा]नित कल्पपादपः (।*)वरकरिगल्लभूमिपभुजा सिरिहाजी(जि)भुवि प्रहा

25 सते [॥ २*] कलिविट्ट नामावर्षार्द्धं तस्यसूनुः विजयादित्यः अनेकतुलाधृतसुवर्न्न[50]

26 दानधारासन्त(र्प्पितब्राह्म*)णानि कुर्म्मः गुणकेनल्लनिति जयगीयमानकीर्त्ति(ः) स

27 न्दक्षिणापथसात्रिकलिङ्गदेशमन्वपालया(मास) एव[51] पञ्चविष्णुवर्द्ध(न)नामानःद्यौज

28 यसि[52]हनामानौ एकोमागियूवराज (ः*)[53]त्रय(ो) विजयादित्य नामानः (।*) तत्र त्रितिय[54] वि

Third plate, Second side.

29 जयादित्य द्वारिप्रतिष्ठापित गंगायमुन[ा*] चन्द्रादित्यहली(ल)केतन समधिगतः

30 पञ्चमहाशब्द श्रवणवित्रासित मतुरा[55]शश्चके वराहलान्छन वीरमकरध्वजः[॥*]

34. Read *mathanaḥ* 35. Read *vratīva* 36. The *anusvāra* on *cha* is superfluous. 37. Metre *Śārdūlavikrīditā*. 38. Read *mūrti* 39. Read *nāmbhō* 40. Read *tpatti* 41. Read *priya* 42. Read *manē* 43. Read *kīrti-strīvallabha* 44. Read *vāṇī* 45. Read *riṁśa* 46. Metre *Champaka* 47. Read *kara-susthī* 48. Read *dīna* 49. *Bhāgavata* 50. Read *suvarṇa* 51. Read *Evam* 52. Read *siṁha*. 53. Read *yuvarājaḥ* 54. Read *tritīya* 55. Read *chaturā*. Both the readings are good.

31 [56]सत्येनधर्म्मपुत्रः कर्न्न[57][:*]त्यागेन विक्रमेन[58] हरिः [।*] नृपकाम [:*] स्वाम्यनुजो
विप्रेभ्यो दी

32 दि[श] द्राम[59] [॥३] [60]अदाद्भुवनकन्दर्प्पः ग्राम[61]द्विजशतायतं[।]प्रेरितस्वानुजेनाथनृप

33 कामेन सूरये[॥४*] [62]शान्तग्राममगुंर(ा)जसोपग्राम[63] विनाकरम्[।*]नातिकुण्ठेनसाकं

34 हि दत्तवान्मत्त[64] भुसुर[:॥५*] पुनरपितस्यै (व*) राज्ञ (:*) विशेषण[65] ॥ [66]सत्य
वचनोय (म)सुरो

35 न ससुराधिप भयाद्भवति सत्यवचनः (।*) शौर्य्यगुणवान्मृ [गपति]र्न्न सविवेकम

Fourth plate, First side.

36 तितो भवति शौर्य्यगुणवान् [।*] दानाविभवो रविसुतोन सपतिस्वबलतो भव

37 ति दानविभवः (।*) सत्यवरशौर्य्य परदानाविभवस्तु नृपकामनृपतिः प्रकृतितः॥ ६*]

38 विजयादित्य भूपति [:*] स्वानुजेननृपकामेनप्रेरित [:*] सूर्य्यग्रहण निमित्त्य[67]स विज

39 यादित्य[:*] राष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखान्कुटिबिन[68] सर्व्वा नित्थमाज्ञापयति विदित मस्तुवा[69] स्मा

40 भिः गुद्रवा(विषये शन्तग्रामे[70]नातिकुण्ठसहितं द्विजशता य)दत्तवान[।*] वेदिवेदा[71]

41 गेतिहास पुराणादि चतु[ष्प*]ष्टि कलानिशाकलेभ्य[72](:) परमब्रह्मविद्भ्य:परि[73]ताग्नि

42 होत्राद्यानुष्ठानपरेभ्यः शमदमयमनियमा श्री(श्रि)त शौचाचारशील गुणगना[74]

Fourth plate, Second side.

43 लंकृत शरीरपद्भ्य· धात्रार्य्यमादिद्वादशादित्यसमानभ्राजित कीर्त्ती[र्ति]भ्य:तथाहिप्रति

44 ग्राहका (:*) स्वस्ति श्रीमत् वंगिपऌऽस्तव्याय यज्ञशर्म्मणे त्रयोभागाः गुण्डशर्म्मणे
एकोभागः

45 विदडिशर्म्मणे एकोभागः द्रोणशर्म्मणे अद्र्धश.[75] करमिचेडु वास्तव्याय पराशरगो

46 त्राय द्रोणशर्म्मणे अध्यर्द्धकोभागः कञ्चिशर्म्मणे द्वैभागौ द्रोणशर्म्मणे द्वौभागौ ब

47 दिशर्म्मणे पञ्च तोभागा:[76] कऌऌवास्तव्याय भारद्वाज गोत्राय शिवन शर्म्मणे त्रयोभ

48 गाः रेवशर्म्मणे एकोभागा:[77]शिविकुऌशर्म्मणे एकोभागा[78]शण्डिलगोत्राय पेतशर्म्मणे

56. Metre *Arya* 57. Read *karṇa* 58. Read *Vikramēṇa* 59. *d-grāmam.*
60. Metre *Anushtub* 61. Read *grāmam* 62 Metre 63 Read *grāmam*
64. Read *vānnata-bhū* 65. Read *viśeṣaṇam* 66. Metre
67. Read *nimittam* 68. Read *kutumbinaḥ* 69. Read *vōsmā*
70. Read *grāmō* 71. Read *Vēda-vēlamgē.* 72. Read *karēbhyaḥ*
73. Read *paritāgni* 74. Read *gaṇā* 75. Read *arthāmśaḥ*
76. Read *pañchamō-bhāgaḥ.* 77. Read *bhāgaḥ* 78. Read *bhāgaḥ*

49 एकोभागः अय्यप्पशर्म्मणो अद्ध्यर्द्धकोभागः देवरतगोत्राय वकशर्म्मणे एकोभा[गः]

Fifth plate, First side.

50 सव्वशर्म्मणे एकोभागाः[80]कुण्डिशर्म्मणेएकोभागा[81]वगिपळ्ळुस्तव्याय कतगोत्राय वु
51 दडिशर्म्मणे द्वौभागौ वेन्नशर्म्मणे अर्द्धशः[82] हरीतगोत्राय रेवशर्म्मणे द्वौभागौ द्रोण
52 शर्म्मणेअद्ध्यर्द्धकोभागःकोण्डिन्द गोत्राय श्रीधरशर्म्मणे त्रयोभागाःदमशर्म्मणेएको[भा]
53 गा[83] केशवशर्म्मणेएकोभागः त्रिविक्रमशर्म्मणे अर्द्धश[84] उपूटूरु[85] व(ा)स्तव्याय कौ
54 शिकगोत्राय कोण्डिशर्म्मणे द्वौभागौ काश्यपगोत्राया[86] ळ्ळ द्वशर्म्मणे एकोभागः गो
55 ळ शर्म्मणे अर्द्धांशःळ्ळद्व शर्म्मणे अद्ध्यर्द्धकोभागःगोळशर्म्मणेएकोभागःएळ्ळशर्म्मणे ए
56 कोभागः क्रंजवास्तव्याय काश्यपगोत्राय महाकाळशर्म्मणे द्वौभागौ [द्रोण]मश[र्म्म]

Fifth plate, Second side.

57 णे अर्द्धांशःनारायणशर्म्मणे एकोभागःकौशिकिगोत्राय पिट्टमशर्म्मणे एकोभागःकोण्डिन्द
58 गोत्राय द्रोणशर्म्मणे एकोभागः कारमिचेडुवास्तव्याय कण्वगोत्र(ा)य सर्व्वशर्मणे द्वौ
59 भागौ चामिशर्मणे एकोभागः हरीत गोत्र(ा)य कञ्चिशर्म्मणे एकोभागः महिधरशर्मणे
60 एकोभागः दिवकरशर्मणे एकोभागः शंकरशर्मणे एकोभागः क्रोवश्री वास्तव्या
61 य रथीतरगोत्राय नारायणशर्मुणे एकोभागः भारद्वाजगोत्राय आग्यपशर्मणे
62 एकोभागः वेन्नशर्मणे एकोभागः गुण्डशर्मणे एकोभागः कुत्सगोत्राय तूर्कशर्मणे
63 द्वौभागौ बोप्पणशर्मणे एकोभागः कौशिकगोत्राय रविणशर्मणे एकोभागः कार

Sixth plate, First side.

64 ञ्चेडु व(ा)स्तव्यायलोहितगोत्र(ा)य गोयिन्दशर्मणे एकोभागःकोण्डिन्दगोत्राय इरुगमश
65 र्मणे एकोभागः भीमशर्मणे एकोभागः मधुवणशर्मणे एकोभागः उप्पुटूरुवा
66 स्तव्याय भारद्वाजगोत्रय केशवशर्मणे एकोभागः गुण्डशर्मणे एकोभागः नागश
67 र्मणे एकोभागः आत्रेयगोत्राय नराय(ण*)शर्मणे त्रयोभागाः रायूरुवास्तव्या
68 य अग्निवेश्यगोत्राया[87] मयिन्दमशर्मणे एकोभागः कश्यपगोत्राय बोपशर्मणे
69 एकोभाग [88]कुण्दुरुवास्तव्य(ा)य गौतमगोत्राय द्रोणशर्मणे द्वौभागौ भारद्वाजगोत्राय क
70 न्दशर्मणे एकोभागः उपुट्टूरुवास्तव्यय [86] पराशरगोत्राय वीरशर्मणे अद्ध्यर्द्धकेभागः
71 चामिशर्मणे एकोभागः त्रिविक्रमशर्मणे एको

80 Read *bhāgaḥ* 81 Read *bhāgaḥ.* 82 Read *ardhāmśaḥ.*
83 Read *bhāgaḥ* 84 Read *ardhāmśaḥ.* 85 Read *Upputūru*
86 Read *gotrāya.* 87 Read *gotrāya.* 88 *Upputūru-vāstavyāya*

Sixth plate, Second side.

72 भागः बव्वशर्मणे एकोभागः दुगशर्मणे अर्द्धं(ा)शः बीमशर्मणेएकोभागः (वं)गिप॰,

73 (स्त)व्यायगौतमगोत्र(ा)यबटशर्मणेएकोभागःकोण्डिन्दागेत्राय सोमशर्मणेअद्ध्यर्द्ध(को)

74 भागः द्रोणशर्मणे एकोभागः माधवशर्मणे एकोभागःद्रोणशर्मणे एकोभा(गः)कुन्दुरु

75 व । स्तव्याय कौशिकगोत्राय द्रोणशर्मणे एकोभागः कारञ्चेडुवास्तव्याय [भा]रद्वा[89]

76 भारद्वाजगोत्राय ए॰शर्मणे एकोभागः द्रोणशर्मणे एकोभागः शिव(शर्मणे) अ

77 र्द्धांशः वल्लन(य्य)शर्मणे एकोभागःरेवशर्मणे एकोभागः श्रीपुरवास्तव्य(ा)य हरीतगोत्रा

78 य सबडिशर्म[णें अद्ध्यर्द्धको] द्वौभागौ ॥ भट्ट(ा)नां विंशतिश्च(ा)पि एकवेदा[90] च
विंशति [:।*] तंशत्[91] त्रिवेदिन

79 स्तद्वत् चतु[र्वेदवदाश]ति[92](॥७॥) तत्रानुष्ठीयम(ा)न(ा)स्ते आशीर्दत्वा स्वभूभृते[।*]
सदास (घुष्ट॰)[93]

80 वेदाश्च सुखंजीवन्तुभूसुराः [॥*८] अस्यावधयः पूर्वत[:*] पेनुबूण्डिसीमै[व*]
दक्षिन(ण)तः अ॰त

81 गूरुसि(सी)मै [व*] नैरतित[:*][94]म्मु(मु)न्जलूरुसीमै[व*] पश्चिमतःउरिविसीमै [व*]
उतरतः[95] तुंबुरुबल्लिसि(सी)

82 मै[व*]र[96]शनतः मुलुडु पेन्दो॰सीमै[व*] चतुरवधिक्षेत्र[97] दत्तवान्॥ आज्ञप्ति
रस्यधर्मस्य पा

83 ण्डरंगो महागुणः [।*] (सा)सिधारासमुच्छिन्न विद्विद्वृ[98]न्दोपवन्दित [:॥९*]
कृतवान्भट्ट कालस्य

84 पुत्रोपौत्रे महि(ही)तले [।*] गगणा[99]दिगभ्भसद्रुद्धिशासनं कर्मनसनम्[100] [॥१०*]
लेखको

85 लेखकादित्य (:*) शासनस्यास्यपाण्डितः (।*) विश्वकर्मवयोभाति घण्टाशला स्वकार
कम (॥*११) बहुभि

86 र्व्वसुधादत्त(ा) बहुभिश्च(ा)नुपालिता(।*)यस्ययस्ययदा[101] भमितस्य तस्यततफलः[102]
(॥*) स्वदत्त[103]

87 परदत्तावायोहरेतु वसुन्धरः[104](।*)षष्टिवर्ष सहस्रनि[105] विषया[106] जायतेक्रिमि(:॥*)

Seventh plate, Second side.

88 दत्तहरयिताभूमि[107]

89 The word '*Bhāradvaja*' occurs twice owing to the inadvertance of the scribe. 90. Read *Ēka-Vēdaścha*. 91. Read *trimśat*. 92. Read *r-Vēdāscha-trimśati*. 93. Probable rendering '*sadā samdhuṣṭa*' 94. Read *nairuti taḥ*. 95. Read *Uttarataḥ*. 96. Read *aiśānataḥ*. 97. Read *Kṣētrum*. 98. Read *Vidvid-bṛundō*. 99. Read *gaganādi*. 100. Read *karma-nāśanam*. 101. Read *bhūmi*. 102. Read *tadāphalam* 103. Read *svadattām*. 104. Read *Vasumdharām*. 105. Read *sahasrāṇi*. 106 Read *Viṣṭayām*. 107 Here the inscription breaks off incompletely.

STONE INSCRIPTION NEAR SIVA TEMPLE AT SANTABOMMALI.

SRI SRI SRI LAKSHMINARAYAN HARICHANDAN JAGADEB
RAJAH BAHADUR, RAJAH SAHEB OF TEKKALI.

The history of the Śiṣṭa Karṇams who are a branch of Utkals inhabiting Kalingadēśa since a very long time may be considered by the historians along with the other histories. There were days when these Śiṣṭa Karṇams made the car of Kalinga Rājya move very victoriously.

It is evident that during the time of the rule of the Kadamba dynasty the present village of Kōṭabommāḷi was built by a brave person in commemoration of his name Vanamāli Janna and the village was called Santabommāḷi. It was called so because it was the centre of trade in those days. As mentioned in Śiṣṭa Karṇa Charitra written by Pandit D. N. Śarma, it is evident that the Śiśṭakarṇams came to Kōṭabommāḷi in Ś.Ś. 805. It is nearly 1000 years since the Kadamba kings ruled over Kōṭabommāḷi. So we can infer that the Śiṣṭakarṇams lived in Kōṭabommāḷi since 945 years. The details relating to this may be well known from the article of the history of Kadamba dynasty written by me and published by the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry in its "Kalingadēśa Charitra."

There is a Śiva temple at a distance of 4 miles from Santabommāḷi. As the deity (Śivalingaṁ) therein shines milk-like, Āndhras call it as Pālēśvara and as it is in the form of fruit (phala) Utkals call it as Phālēśvara and thus it is called by two names. But the deity might be called by the name of Phālāksha. It is an ordinary temple. It does not look like an ancient temple if we take its architecture into consideration. It seems that this ancient and famous temple became gradually dilapidated and so it was removed and a new temple came to be constructed at the same place. By the side of the temple there is a stone containing some inscriptions. The same stone is broken into two pieces. As this stone is utilized for grinding sandal-wood paste by the archakas as well as by the people that pay visits to the temple-it must have been broken. The stone containing the inscription is 4 ft. length in length, 2 feet breadth and 4 inches in thickness. There are 11 lines in Telugu script and the inscription is in Sanskrit language in Sragdhara vṛitta.

The above stone inscription must have been found on the wall of the above temple. The constructor of the present temple (being unaware of the inscription) thinking that the fame of this charitable endow.

ment would go to the inscriber of this inscription if it is kept in the present temple has put it outside.

Text of the Inscription.

१ ओं स्वस्ति श्री शाकाब्दे

२ [चन्द्र] राजो वसुविषय

३ वियच्छङ्क संख्ये प्रया

४ ते श्रीवत्सान्वय देवशर्म

५ तनयोस्त्विनविशाले वनएँ (?) [।]

६ शून्या यासोमघजो

७ वरगुणानिलयः सूर्य्य

८ संसेचलाहे [दीपं]

९ प्रादादखण्डं त्रिभु

१० वनगुरवो शम्भवोकीर्त्ति

११ बाण: ॥

Brief Translation:

Ōṁ! Svasti. Vasu = 8 Vishaya = 5 Viyachchanka = 12 (when the figures are written in this way figures must be calculated from right to left) Thus it will be S.S, 1258 i.e. A.D. 1369 In S.S. 1258 i.e. 1366 Christian era, during the time of Chandra Rāja Kīrtibāṇa the son of Dēvaśarma of Śrvīatsagōtra granted a perpetual lamp in the middle of the vast jungle to Śaṁbhu who is Tribhuvanaguru on Saturday which was Sankramāṇa day. Kīrtibāṇa was not a lazy person. He performed many *yajñas*. In 1336 A.D. this was under the rule of Utkal king. Therefore the donor of the perpetual lamp Kīrtibāna might have been a subordinate ruler of Utkal king. There are still people of Śrīvatsagōtra in Bommāḷi. At the temple there is an idol of *Mahıshāśuramardanī*. It is a very old idol. Both this idol as well as the stone inscription require preservation.

There are some inscriptions and grants to state that Chandra Dēva mentioned in this inscription was subordinate to the Utkal king and that he invaded the South. It is also inferred that this brave ruler invaded up to Koṇḍavīḍu. If this fact were to be true this Chandra Dēva might be the same Chandra Dēva in Gaṇadēvi's Sasanam of Koṇḍavīḍu.

These Śiṣṭakarṇams took up ministerial positions in these parts during the time of Jagadebs of Kadamba dynasty and they also became famous for their education and upholding the honour of Utkals.

GAUTAMIPUTRA SRI SATAKARNI

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

Nasik cave No. 3, has several Prakrit inscrs. referring to Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. He is called the uprooter of Kshaharāṭa family and restorer of the glory of Śātavāhana race. By the first epithet, we may note that he destroyed the Kshaharāṭa clan that ruled over Mahārāshtra, Gujrat and C. India and thus restored Śātavāhana rule over Western-India. The Jogaltambi hoard of coins discovered (Total No. 13, 250) suggests that he turned his arms against Nahapāña, the King of Kshaharāṭas and killed him. 1/3 of the number consists of Nahapana's own coins, while the rest consists of Nahapana's coins restruck by Gautamī-putra - Śātakarṇi. There is not a single coin of any other Prince but Nahapana's and the evidence supplied by this hoard of coins is conclusive that Śātakarṇi destroyed Nahapana and his race about 120 A.D.

The Nasik cave inscriptions tell us that he ruled over the whole country watered by the R. Godavari, Berar, Malwa, Mahārāshtra, Guzerat and Konkan. The finds of coins in the Godavari, and the Krishna Valleys, Mālwa and other places also prove the same. Vāsisṭhīputra Pulumavi was ruling in the west over Mahārāshtradesa with Paithon as capital, as mentioned by Ptolemy, when his father Gautamīputra was ruling over the old Andhra Desa. (Dhanakāta) After the death of the latter in or about 130 A. D., Pulumavi succeeded to the whole of Andhradesa. An inscription found at Amarāvati refers to his reign. Coins of this King were obtained by me at Amarāvati and Gudivada in 1924 and they bear the legend *Sī ri Va si* or Sri Vasishtiputra Pulumāvi as he is called. After his death in 158 A.D. his successors, Siva Sri and Chanda Sri ruled over Krishna and Godavari Districts and the coins of the latter (coins resembling in style those of Pulumavi) have been found in Godavari District. The next Kings, Siri Satakani and Siri Yajña ruled over both Mahāraṣṭra and Andhra Dēsa for, their inscriptions and coins also are found both in the West and the East. Sri Yajña Śātakarṇi was a powerful king, for his Empire extended beyond the Vindhyas as is shown by the find spots of his coins. His coins were found not only in Guzerat but also in Kathiawar and E. Malwa. Probably, he reconquered those provinces from the Kshatrapa Dynasty of Ujjain. After Yajña Siri Satakārṇi, the Śatavāhana kings seem to have lost their control over Mahāraṣṭradesa for, we find the inscriptions and coins of certain Abhira Kings alone in the Western provinces. This may be about 190 A.D.

The Andhra King, Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi boasted of having uprooted the entire Kshaharāta family and defeated Nahapana who was a Śāka and ruled over W. Deccan, N. Konkan, Guzerat, Sourāṣṭra and Cutch, some of which were once comprised in the Andhra Empire but which were conquered by Nahapana. The Andhra victory is proved from Nasik cave inscriptions. The provinces which were thus reconquered by Śātakarṇi were probably placed under the control of Chastana and Jayadaman who were both of Saka origin and who probably ruled as Kṣatrapas or, Viceroys under the Andhras. The coins of these Satrap princes attest to this fact. However, during the time of the third Satrap, Rudradaman, the Andhras were again defeated. This is attested by his Junagadh inscription, in which he refers to '*Svayaṁ abhigata Mahākshātrapa nāmnaḥ.*' Evidently, the West and the North parts of the Andhra Empire passed under Western Satraps during the middle of 2nd century A. D. and so, the successors of Vāsiṣṭīputra Pulumāvi began to rule only over the Central and the Eastern parts of the Dekkan, where their inscriptions and coins are found in large numbers.

The Eastern Dekkan was still ruled over by the Śātavāhanas for one or two generations more. Coins of Sri Rudra, Sri Krishna, Sri Chandra and other Kings were found in Krishna and Godāvari Districts as well as in Central Provinces, but not in Western-India. About the middle of the third century A.D., the Śātavāhanas ceased to be independent rulers over the E. Dekkan also. The Ikshvakus are said to have succeeded the Andhras. The Puranas mention the Ikshvakus as Andhrabhṛtyas and the Jaggayapeta Inscription tells us that Sri Vīra Purushadatta of Ikshvaku race was the Rājah of the country. The Ikshvakus are a Northern dynasty and probably in the third century A. D. they penetrated into the Dekkan and established their power at the expense of the Śātavāhanas.

From the coins discovered in Kolhāpūr in the West and those discovered in Krishna Valley, we see certain differences in types and legends. The coins found in the Western region contain certain titles like Vilivāyakura, and Sivālakura and Dr. Bhandarkar has identified them with the names of viceroys who ruled over West Andhra country but who paid homage to the Kings at Dhānyakaṭaka. Most of the Andhra coins discovered both in the East and in the West, contain the Chaitya symbol on the obverse and the cross and balls called 'Ujjain symbol' on the reverse. The chaitya symbol is a Buddhist symbol and the Andhras who were Buddhist Patrons had it on their coins. Chāstanā and Jayadāman, the Śāka Śātraps had also the same symbols on their coins and this may suggest to us that they were the viceroys under the Andhra kings- Most of the coins discovered in Mālwa bear the symbol "cross and balls" and this suggest to us that that country was under Andhra control before Śāka conquest.

An inscription in Nasik cave No. 3 dated in the 18th regnal year of Gautāmīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi informs us that the edict was issued, from the victorious camp of the army at Vaijayanti or Banavāsi to Vishṇupālita, the minister of Gōvardhana (Nasik) district, by the king who is styled as the Lord of Benākaṭaka (Dhanakataka or Amarāvati) and Gōvardhana, to the effect that a field of 200 Nivartanas (measures) of land in the village of Aparakhakaḷi formerly belonging to Ṛshabhadatta, son-in-law of Nahapāna but now under his enjoyment, should be granted free of all obstacles — apravēśa, anōmarsa, alavaṇakhādaka, arāshṭrasavinayikā, — to the monks of Triraśmi hill.

The oral order issued by the king to Vishṇupālita, the minister of Nasik was written by Siva Gupta, protected by Mahāswāmi, and inscribed by Tāpasi.

Another inscription, inscribed below the one noted above, records an order given to Śyāmeka, the minister of Govardhana or Nasik by the same king and his mother Gautami Balasri Mahādevi, to the effect that since the field of 100 Nivartanas in Kakhadi village formerly granted to the Bhikshus living the Dharmasetu cave constructed by Mahādevi on Triraśmi hill is useless and nobody is living in the village, land of 100 Nivartanas in Nagarasīma (Nasik) royal field should be granted free of all obstacles.

The oral order originally given was reduced to writting by Pratīhāri (door keeper) Loratārya in the 24th regnal year of the king.

Nasik cave No. 3 contains an inscription of Queen Bālaśri, mother of Śātakarṇi and grand mother of Puḷumāvi dated in the 19th regnal year of which records the grant of Puḷumāvi, Nasik cave No. 3 to Bhadrāyanīya sect of Buddhist monks. At the same time, the village of Sudasaṇa in Govardhana District was granted for the maintenance of the monks of third cave by the lord of Dhanamkaṭa (Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi) and the village of Pisā Jipadaka by Puḷumāvi for painting it. In the 22nd year, in lieu of Sudasana, the village of Samalipada was given by Puḷumāvi. Queen Bālasr's, inscription describes the exploits of her son who is styled Kshatriyadarpa māna mardana, (crusher of the pride and respect of the kshatriyas), Śāka Yāvana Pālhava nisūdana, (killer of the Śākas, Yāvanas and Pālhavas,) Khakharāṭavamsa niravasēshakara, (complete destroyer of the dynasty of khakharātas) and Śātavāhana kula yaśa pratishṭāpanakara (Founder of the glory of Śātavāhana clan). He is said to have conquered Asika (Ṛṣikas of Dakshināpatha), Asaka (Asmakas of lower Godavari, or Asvakas of N. W. region?) Mulaka (Paithan or Pratishṭhānapnra), Suraṭha or Surāṣṭra (Kathiawar), Kukura (Guzerat), Aparānta (N. Konkan), Anūpa (Māhishmati), Vidarbha (W. Berar), Ākara (E. Malwa), and Avanti (W Malwa).

He is also said to be the lord of the mountains, Vijha (E. Vindhya), Achhavata or Ṛkshavat (Satpura), Parivāt or Pāriyātra (W. Vindhya), Sahya or Sahyādri (N. part of W. Ghats), Kaṉhagiri or Krishnagiri (W. part of W. Ghats) Maca, Siritana (Srisaila,) Malaya (S. part of W. Ghats), Mahinda or Mahendra (E. Ghats), Setagiri or Svetagiri, and Chakora.

From the above account, it is clear that Gautamīputra Srī Śātakarṇi ruled over the whole of the Dekkan extending from Malwa to Mysore and from sea to sea. He established the glory of his line by defeating *Kshaharātās*, *Śākas*, *Yâvanas*, and *Pāhlavas*, all termed as *Mlēchhas* or foreigners. He also established the rules of *Varṇāśṛama-dharma* (caste). Though he was a Brahmanical Hindu, he patronised Buddhism by constructing caves for Buddhist monks and endowing them richly.

The inscriptions and coins of the king clearly show that the Empire was divided into several *Rāshtras* or provinces and each province into *Vishayas* or Districts and each district into several of *Gramas* or villages. There was a heirarchy of officials with several grades. Lands were measured carefully and assessed according to fertility. The use of money was known. There were merchant guilds which organised trade and banking. There were also guilds for the several crafts. There was an efficient army led by the king or his trusted ministers.

Architecture and sculpture received royal attention. The excavations in Salsette afford the most perfect specimens of buildings. e.g. stupas, caves, chaityas, monasteries, tanks, and cisterns—all made of stone. The grant of a village by Balasrī was made for painting a cave probably with scenes taken from Jatakas. Towns were built and terraced buildings for kings and nobles. Trade and Commerce were brisk. The language of all inscriptions is Prakrit and both Brahmi and Kharosti scripts are used, the former mostly. Thus, there is ample evidence to prove that the Dekkan enjoyed a great civilisation in the 2nd century A D.

MADRAS RECORD OFFICE

BALLALA III. AND VIJAYANAGAR.

Dr. N. VENKATA RAMANAYYA, M. A., PH. D.

I

The Rev. Father HENRI HERAS, S. J. after what seems to be a thorough and searching examination of all available evidence, has arrived at the conclusion that the city of Vijayanagar was founded by Ballāḷa III., the Hoysala King of Dvārasamudra.[1] The evidence which the Rev. Father utilises may be roughly classified under two heads: (1) Inscriptions, and (2) Chronicles. We do not propose to discuss the epigraphical aspect of the problem in the present paper. We proceed to examine the way in which Father Heras has exploited the information contained in the chronicles. They are two in number: (1) *Chronicle of Fernao Nuniz*, and (2) *The Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India* by Mahomed Kāsim Ferishta. Nuniz resided in Vijayanagar in the first half of the 16th century; and his work "contains the traditional history of the country gathered first hand on the spot, and a narrative of local and current events of the highest importance, known to him either because he himself was present or because he received the information from those who were so." It was "composed by Nuniz about the year 1536 or 1537".[2] Mahomed Kasim Ferishta "was born about the year 1570", "at Astrabad, on the border of the Caspian Sea". He migrated to India with his father, Gholam Ally Hindoo Shah, and reached Ahmudnuggur about 1582. He left Ahmudnuggur for good after 1587, and reached Bijāpūr "in the year 1589", where he entered the service of Ibrahīm Adil. Shāh II. "Ferishta seems to have finished his account of the Bijāpūr Kings in 1596."[3] One would expect a historian to attach greater value to the account of Nuniz who not only resided for sometime at Vijayanagar while the city was still the seat of the Hindu Empire but "composed" his work some *Sixty* years before Ferishta. But, not so Father Heras. He accepts Ferishta's account as more trustworthy than that of Nuniz, and he explains the reasons for his preference:

"Bijāpur was indeed', says he, 'the best city of Deccan for obtaining information about Vijayanagar......The tradition respecting Vijayanagar......was undoubtediy alive in the Adil Shāhi capital......He (Ferishta),

1 *The Beginnings of Vijayanagar History*
2 Sewell; *Forgotten Empire:* preface p. 7
3 Brigg's *Ferishta* I p. XXXIX to XLIII

therefore, had the best oral tradition possible, and the ancient Mussalmalman chronicles as the source of his information."[4]

The reasons of Father Heras in accepting Ferishta's account in preference to that of Nuniz are thus two in number,

(1) Bijāpūr where Ferishta came to live in the last quarter of the 16th century was '*the best city of Deccan for obtaining information about Vijayanagar.*"

(2) Ferishta had "*the best oral tradition possible and the ancient Mussalman chronicles as the source of his information.*"

It is rather strange that the Rev. Father Heras should have accepted "the oral tradition" recorded by Ferishta, although he brushes aside tradition drawn from the Telugu and the Canarese sources. Some Muhammadan chronicles which have come down to our own day contradict the history of Ferishta in several places; and wherever it can he tested by the evidence of inscriptions, it is found to be a record of "palpable falsehoods".[5] Therefore we are not able to repose the same amount of confidence in Ferishta as the Rev. Heras is inclined to do. To correct the inaccuracies and mis-statements of Ferishta one would have to write a bulky tome, but for the present we may offer the reader a few select instances to illustrate our point.

II

FERISHTA.	NUNIZ.	MODERN HISTORIANS (Based upon inscriptions).
1. "The government of Beejanuggur had remained *in one family in uninterrupted succession for seven hundred years*, when Shew Rāy dying, he was succeeded by his son a minor, who did not long survive him, and left the throne to a younger brother. Not long after, died also leaving an infant only of three months old. Timrāj one of the principal Ministers of the family celebrated for his wisdom and experience, became sole	According to Nuniz, the kingdom of Bisnaga was founded sometime after A.D. 1330. Ten kings reigned in the city before the usurpation of Narasymgna :— 1. Dehorao ruled for 7 ys. 2. Bucarao ,, ,, 37 ,, 3. Pureoyre Desrao,, x. ,, 4. Ajarao for 43 ,, 5. Visarao ,, 6 ,, 6. Deorao ,, 25 ,, 7. Pinarao ,, 12 ,, 8. *Nameless king* ,, x ,, 9. Verupacrao ,, x ,, 10. Padearao ,, x ,,	The kingdom was founded by Harihara I. in 1361 & he was succeeded by his brother Bukka I. in 1356. And Bukka I. ruled until 1378. His descendants ruled at Vijayanagar until A.D. 1487. Therefore, the kings of the first dynasty reigned for (1487—1336)=151 years. Sāluva Narasimha

4 *The Beginnings of Vijayanagar History*

5 Heras *Aravidu Dynasty I* p. 4. foot note 6.

regent, and was cheerfully obeyed by the nobility and vassals of the kingdom for forty years. On the occasion of the young king's attainning the age of manhood, Timrāj poisoned him, and put an infant of the family on the throne, in order to have a pretence for retaining the regeney in his hands. Timrāj at length dying, was succeeded in his office by his son Ramrāj who having married a daughter of Shew Rāy, added by that alliance greatly to his influence and Power."[6]

(The kings of the first dynasty ruled at Bisnaga for 130+x+x+x+x. "The reign of Padaerao must have been very short. It appears to have lasted for a few months only. Allowing 10 years for each of the other three reigns whose duration is not stated by Nuniz, We get 130+30= 160 years as the period for which thc princes of the first dynasty ruled at Bisnaga.

Narasyimgna ruled for 44 years. He had two young sons. At the time of his death, he appointed Narasa Naik, his general as the regent of the kingdom and commanded him to place one of his two sons upon the throne. Narasa Naik enthroned his master's eldest son; but, as he was poisoned by Tymarasa, an enemy of the regent, he placed his master's second son upon the throne. He confined the young king to the fort of Penugonda, where he had him assassinated a few years later. Narasa Naik became king, and he had five sons: (1) Busbalrao (2) Crishnarao (3) Tetarao (4) Ramygupa (5) Onamysyuaya. After the death of Narasa Naik. Busbablrao ascended the throne, and ruled for six years. He died. He was succeeded by Crisnarao. He governed the kingdom most gloriously, and died. .And he was succeeded by his half-brother Tetarao.[7]

who usurped the throne in 1487 ruled until 1493. He was succeed by his son Immaḍi Narasimha who occupied the throne until 1505 or 1506. Narasa Naik who was appointed by Sāḷuva Narasimha as the regent of the kingdom died in 1503. His son Vīra-Narasimha succeeded him as the regent; later about 1506 he became the king & governed the kingdom until 1509. He was succeeded by Krishṇadēvarāya who ruled with great glory until 1529-30 A. D. He was succeeded by his brother Achyutadēvarāya whose reign lasted until 1542 A. D. He was succeeded by his son Venkata I, who died shortly after; and he was succeeded by his cousin, Sadāśiva whose minister Rāmrāj was.[8]

6 *Ferishta* III. pp. 80—81.

7 *Forgotten Empire* pp, 291—395.

8 *Ibid* pp. 16—290.

On a comparison of the above three accounts, that of Ferishta is found to be least trustworthy. The readers attention is drawn to the following points:--

(1) According to Feristha, the first dynasty held sway over Vijayanagar for *Seven hundred* years without interruption; but we learn from inscriptions, on which all the modern accounts are based, that the kingdom of Vijayanagar was founded in or about 1336 A.D, and that the first or the Sangama dynasty came to an end in 1487 A.D. Therefore, the Sangama kings reigned for 1487 - 1336 = 151 years. The account of Nuniz is roughly in agreement with this. As the evidence of the inscriptions is most trustworthy, the statement of Ferishta must be rejected as worthless.

(2) Ferishta informs us that Shew Rāy died towards the closing years of the Sangama dynasty. He appears to believe that Shew Rāy was the last important member of the Sangama family; but neither the inscriptions nor Nuniz mention a king of this name who ruled at Vijayanagar. Even if we suppose that Sadāsiva might have been the original of Ferishta's Shew Rāy, we know that he was the last king of the Third dynasty and that he did not ascend the throne until A.D. 1543. Therefore-Shew Rāy, the last Sangama king must he regarded as a myth whom the very imaginative brain of Ferishta appears to have conjured up.

(3) Even if we identify Ferishta's Shew Rāy with Sāḷuva Narasimha, as some writers have done, we have yet to account for the four youngsters who succeeded him. The two minor sons of Shew Rāy may be identified with the two minor sons of Śāḷuva Narasiṁha, *viz* Immaḍi Narasiṁha, and his elder brother; but the two other princes whom the regent Timrāj is said to have placed upon the throne have no room for accomodation. The inscriptions mention only Immaḍi Narasiṁha; but Nuniz speaks of this prince and of his elder brother. Ferishta appears to have multiplied these two princes into four for reasons best known only to himself.

(4) The regent's name according to Ferishta is Timrāj; but according to Nuniz and the inscriptions his name is Narasa Naik. Ferishta did not know even the name of the regent.

(5) We learn from Ferishta that Timrāj died sometime before A.D. 1535, and he was succeeded by his son Rāmrāj. Ferishta does no' leave us in doubt about the identity of Rāmrāj. He is the same person who perished ultimately on the battle-field of Talikoṭa. We understand from the inscriptions and Telugu literature that Rāmarāja's father was Śrīranga, a grandson of Āravīti Bukka. Śrīranga was but an obscurs nobleman, and he was not even a minister. If we identity Ferishta's Timrāj with the regent Narasa Naik, Rāmrāja could not have been hie son, Ferishta does not even allude to Narasa Naik's famous sons, Virat Narasiṁha, Krishṇa, and Achyuta.

(6) Rāmarāj is said to have married a daughter of Shew Ray. We know from the *Ramarājīyam* the names of the fathers of all the wives of Rāmarāja ; and Shew Ray is not mentioned as one of them ; but Tirumaladēvī, one of Rāmarāja's wives is said to have been as daughter of the famous emperor Krishṇadēvarāya.

It is obvious from what is said above that Ferishta was almost totally ignorant of the history of Vijayanagar even during the century in which he lived. The Rev. Father Heras also admits that Ferishta's account contains " several palpable falsehoods" Ferishta, of course, does not mention Krishnadēvarāya by name. Although he describes Ibrahim Adil Shāh's defeat on the banks of the Krishṇa, he keeps a judicious silence over the events which followed the battle. He does not refer to the incarceration of the Bhāmini princes at Gulburga, and their subsequent release by Krishṇadēvarāya. However, according to the contemporary writers, the last Bhāmini princes were imprisoned by Adil Shāh, and Krishṇadēvarāya released them.9

FERISHTA.	NUNIZ	LAKSHMI-NARAYANA.
ii. Muhammad 'Shah Bhamuny II. (IV) died in A.D. 1518. He wus succeeded by his son Ahmad Shah II. The king was 'reduced to be a mere pensioner' by Ameer Bereed ; he sold the crown-jewels; but Bereed put to death several people who were involved in the transaction. The king died in 1520. He was succeeded by Allauddin II. who contrived a plot to seize the minister ; but the project failed. The Sultan was	Full of fury, he (Crisnarao) entered the kingdom of Dequeem and marched against the city of Culburgura and destroyed it and razed the fortress to the ground, and the same with many other places.' x x x x In this city of Cal burgura, in the fort-	Having crossed the river Krishna' (after the capture of Raichore), he burnt the country of the Mussulmans. He captured the forts of Ferozabad, Asanbad, Sagar &c. Having vanquished Adil Shah at Kulburga, he

9 This is mentioned by Nuniz in his History of Bisnaga but his statement is considered untrustworthy as it is oontradicted by the history of Ferishta. However we have it from another contemporary. of Krishnadevaraya that he set a liberty three Bhamini Princes from prison at Gulburga after he captured the place Bhandara Lakshminarayana the author of the *Sangita Suryodaya* who was thet court musician of Krishnadeva alludes to this event,

కృష్ణాముత్తీర్య సోఽయం యవనజనపదం వహ్నిసాత్కృత్య సద్యః
ఫేరోజాబాద సంబాదుర సగరసమాఖ్యాని దుర్గాణి జిత్వా
భజ్యోర్వైచ్ఛ పారశీకం కలబుర్గపురీంద్రా కృష్ణరాయాగమాః
కారాగారాత్సవార్యాత్ప్రష్టవాన్ దోర్బల ఘన మహిమా త్రీన్ సురత్రాణ పుత్రాన్.

Bharati II No. 3 p 66

deposed and murdered in prison. Wally Ulla succeeded him. Ameer Bereed conceived a passion for his queen; he poisoned the king, and married the queen. On his death, Kalim Ulla, a son of Ahmad II. by a daughter of Yossoof Adilkhan was placed upon the throne. He was confined to the palace; and in 1526 he escaped to Bijāpūr, and later on to Ahamadanaggar.10

ress belonging to it, set at liberty, the king took three the three sons of sons of the king of the (Bhāmini) Dequem. He made the eldest king of the kingdom of Dequem, his father being dead......The other two brothers he took with him and gave them each one an allowance, to each one every year fifty thousand gold Pardaos; and he holds them and treats them as princes and great lords, as indeed they are."11

Lakshmīnārāyaṇa and Nūniz were contemporaries of Krishṇadēvarāya; and their evidence must be regarded as more trustworthy than that of Ferishta who came to live at Bijāpūr some sixty years later. Either Ferishta was ignorant of what had taken place, or he suppressed the truth and deliberately falsified history.

iii. Devarāya II and Allauddin II. The following pertains to their last war :—

FRRISHTA.

" With this host he (Dēvarāya) resolved on conquering the Bhamuny kingdom; and accordingly, in the year 847 (A.D. 1443), having crossed the river Tungabhadra suddenly, he took the fortress of Mudkul, sent his sons to beseige Rachore and Bunkapore and encamped with his army along the bank of the Krishṇa. From hence, he sent detachments which plundered the country as far as Sagar and Bijāpūr laying it waste with fire and sword."13

ABDUR RAZAK.

A. D. 1443.: About this time, the Daṇaik or minister......departed on an expedition to the kingdom of Kulburga. Sultan Allauddin Ahamad Shah, upon learning the attempted assassination of Deo Rai, and the murder of the principal officers of the state was exceedingly rejoiced, and sent an eloquent deputy to deliver this message: "Pay me 700,000 *Varāhas*, or I will send a world subduing army into your country, and will extirpate idolatry from its lowest foundations". Deo Rāi, king of Bijanagar was troubled and angered at this demand and said, "Since I am alive what occasion is there if some servants have been slain?...If my enemies have concieved that weakness, loss, insecurity, and calamity have fallen upon me, they are mistaken. I am shielded by a powerful and auspicious star, and fortune is favourable to me. Now, let all that my enemy can seize from out of my dominions be considered

10 *Ferishta II* pp. 553—59
11 *Forgotten Empire* pp. 357—8
12 The *Bharati II* No. 3 p 66.
13 *Ferishta II* p 432

as booty, and made over to his Sayyids and professors; as far me, all that I can take from his kingdom, I will make over to my falconers and brahmins." So, on both sides, armies were sent into other's country, and committed great devastations."[14]

Both the writers whom we have cited above are Mussalmans. Abdur Razzak was a contemporary of Dēvarāya II, and was actually present at Vijayanagar while this war was being fought. Therefore, his account of the war is to be preferred to that of Ferishta who lived at Bijāpūr, 146 years later. Here is an other instance were Ferishta falsifies history in the interests of his co-religionists.

iv. Mujāhid and Kishen Rāy:--

FERISHTA.

" He also wrote to Kishen Roy, the Rāja of Beejnuggur that as some forts and districts between the Krishna and Tungabhadrā were held in by them in participation, which occasioned constant disagreements, it was expected the Rāja would, for the future forego his claims to all territory east of the Tungabhadra together with the fort of Bunkapore and some other places. Kishen Roy in reply to this demand said that the forts of Rāchōre and Mudkal, and others between the rivers had for ages belonged to his family; that the king would do wisely, therefore to surrender them, confine his boundary to the north bank of the Krishna &c."

Mujahid Shah took the field in person, and arrived at Beejnuggur. The Hindus fled

SAYYID ALI.

" The Sultan took it into his head to exterminate the idolatry of Vijayanagar and to wage a religious war against the infidels. So with a numerous army and elephants...... He proceeded towards Vijayanagar.

When the Rāya, Kapzah, who was the leader of the lords of hell, heard of the approach of the Sultan's army, being hopeless of retaining his life and possessions, was excessively terified, and shut himself in the

TAZKARAT-UL-MULK.

Mujāhid Shah, " contemplated waging a *jihad* against the infidels in order to add splendour to the army of Islam... Mujāhid daily busied himself in organizing his army and then proceeded against the fort of Adoni with a large force, and laid seige to it for a year, when the garrison running short of water asked for quarter; and the Governor of the fort came out, and after obtaining a written treaty returned to the fort with Mujahid Shah's deputy, in order to evacuate and surrender the fort."

" On that same night heavy rain fell, and the fort became well supplied with water. The garrison regretted having made

14 *Elliot and Dowson IV* pp 121—22

before the Muslim troops. The Sultan pursued them through woods "to Seeta Bund Rameswar" Kishen Roy returned to Beejnuggar closely pursued by the Muhammadans. Mujāhid entered the streets of the town; but was strongly opposed by the Hindus. He fought a duel with a Hindu whom he slew. A general action was fought after which the Mussalmans with drew. Peace was concluded. As Mujahid was returning to Kulburga, he was assassinated by his uncle Daud Khan.[15]

fort...As a matter of necessity, the above mentioned R ā y a Kapzah sent to the court of Mujāhid Shāh, a number of his most intelligent and distinguished officers; and they representing their weakness and despair, and professing obedience and submission, agreed to pay a large sum of *nal 'hara* into the royal treasury; also to deliver over to the agent of the court the keys of the fortress which was the cause of the hostilities and despute." After this, as the Sultan was returning to Kulburga he was assassinated by his cousin Da'ud khan.[16]

peace, and applied themselves to strengthening the fort. They cut off the head of Mujāhid Shah's deputy, and putting it into a gun, fiired it towards the army of Mujahid Shah."

"When Mujahid heard of the resistence of the garrison, he returned to the city ot Ahsanbad, and encamped outside in order that he might enter on the following day at an auspicions hour...Next day Mujahid was found on the throne without his head."[17]

The three Mussalman writers whom we cited above do not agree, except on one or two points, in describing the events connected with the war. There is only one point on which they completely agree, *viz* that Mujāhid Shah invaded Vijayanagar tsrritory. Regarding the causes of the war Ferishta mentions only the disgreement about the boundaries. This appears to have been a mere pretext, the real cause being a desire to wage *jīhad* or religions war against the infidels in order to add splendour to the army of Islam," Here the agreement stops.

According to Ferishta, the Rāya of Vijayanagar at the time of Mujāhid's invasion was Kishen Roy or Krishṇa Rāya but according to Sayyid Ali, he was called kapzah (Buk-Kapa-Shah). There was only one king of the name of Krishnarāya at Vijayanagar, and he ascened the throne in A.D. 1509 i.e. 123 years after Mujahid's death. In making Krishṇarāya a contemporary of Mujahid, Ferishta has betrayed his

15 *Ferishta II* pp 328—41

16 *Burhan-i-ma'asir*

17 *Ibid*

appaling ignorance of the chronology of the Kings of Vijayanagar. Sayyid Ali gives more or less accurately the name of the Rāya who was the contemporary of Mujāhid. He calls him Kapzah who has correctly been identified with Bukka I.[18] In fact, the reign of Bukka I. lasted until 1378 A.D.

Regarding the war, the following is the summary of Ferishta's account : Mujāhid Shah took the field in person, and arrived at Beejnuggar. The Hindus fled before the Muslim troops. The Sultan pursued them through the wood to "Seeta Bund Rāmēśvar'. Kishen Roy then returned to Beejnugur, and was closely pursued by the Muhammadans &c.

Sayyid Ali's account differs considerably from that of Ferishta. He does not mention the City of Vijayanagar in connection with Mujāhid's war ; but he declares that Kapzah who shut himself within the fort had submitted to the Sultan without fighting. Then the Sultan returned to his kingdom. The account of *Tazkarat-ul-Mulk* differs considerably from the other two. Mujāhid who laid seige to the fort of Ādōni very nearly succeeded in taking it ; but owing to the fall of rain, he was balked of his prey, and had to return to his capital Ahsanbād. The account of *Tazkarat-ul-Mulk* is more trustworthy than those of Sayyid Ali and Ferishta. Mujāhid's pursuit of the King of Vijayanagar has been declared improbable.[19] It is doubtful whether he actually reached the capital of the Hindu Kingdom. There are very strong reasons for believing that the fighting centred round the fortress of Ādōni and that the Muhammadans had to retire to their country utterly discomfited. So much we learn from an inscription of 1380 A.D. "When the *Turushkas* were swarming over Ādavani *durga* and kingdom," Chennappa Oḍeyar, a nephew of Harihara II, "conquered those *Turushakas*, took possession of the *durga* (fort) and the kingdom (*rājya*), and gave them to Harihara Rāya"[20] He is also said to have wrested" from the hands of the Yavanas, the territory they had seized, and presented (it) as an *upāyana* to Harihara"[21] Although the inscription is dated in 1380 A.D., the events which it records, should have taken place some two years earlier.[22]

It is said in the inscription that Chennappa Oḍeyar afterf his victory over the Mussalmans "recieved a kingdom of his own, and

18 *The Sangama Eynasty* by M. S. Sarma (unpublished)

19 Swell *The Forgotten Empire* p 42

20 *Ep. Car. XII* kg 43.

21 *Ibid,*

22 Accordtng to *Burhan-i-ma'asir*, the king of Vijayanagar at the time of Mujahid's invasien in A.D. 1378 was Kapza or Bukka I. A.D. 1378 was the last year of Bukka's reign. There was no Muhammadan attack upon Vijayanagar kingdom not to speak of Adoni between 1378 and 1380 i,e. the date of the present inscription Therefore the seige of Adoni referred to in the inscription must have taken place in 1378 A.D

was at peace.[23] More over, it informs us that Harihararāya "had again established the kingdom acquired by his father."[24] This refers to the conquest of the territory between the Tungabhadra and the Krishna, and of Konkan with its important port Goa. The conquest must have been completed in 1380. We know from an inscription dated in 1379 A.D.[25] that Harihara's army was already conquering certain parts of Konkaṇ. The Vijayanagar army could not have invaded Konkaṇ, unless the Muhammadans were expelled from Ādōni and its surroundings sometime earlier. Therefore, K G 43 must the taken as referring to the seige of Ādōni by Mujāhid Shah in A. D. 1378. Taking advantage of the defeat of the Muhammadan army, and the subsequent confusion at Gulburga caused by the assassination of Mujāhid, Harihara II invaded the *doab*, and Konkaṇ which he easily conquered.

Thus, in the four instances we have chosen, Ferishta's account is shown to be untrustworthy, either on account of his ignorance of the events or due to his tendency to deliberately falsify history in the interests of the Mussalmans. A writer who betrays ignorance of the history of Vijayanagar even during the century in which he lived connot be regarded as a trustworthy authority upon the events connected with its early days. The very fact that he mentions Kishen Roy as a contemporary Muhammad I, and Mujāhid is a sufficient proof of his gross ignorance. In spite of this, the Rev. Father Heras accepts him as a most reliable authority regarding the circumstances under which the City of Vijayanagar was founded. Even here, he cannot be trusted! And the Rev. Father Heras has leaned upon a broken reed. Ferishta informs us that "Bilal Dew convened a meeting o his kinsmen and resolved first, to secure the forts of his own country and then remove the seat among the Muhammadans...Bilal Dew, accordingly built a strong city upon the frontiers of his dominions, and called after his son Beeja to which the word 'nuggur' or city was added, so that it is now known by the name of Beejnuggur."[26] Therefore, Ferishta attributes in this passage the foundation of the city of Vijayanagar to Ballala III. However in the following passage, he mentions a king of Dorasamudra who was an ally of Ballāla III.

"Bilal Dew and Kishen Naig united to their forces the troops of. the Rajas of Mābir and Dwārasamudra, who were formerly tributary to the Government of Carnatic."[27]

It is obvious that according to Ferishta, the Raja of Dwārasamudra was different from Bilal Dew, the Raja of Carnatic; but Dwārasamudra

23 *Ep. Carn. XII* Kg 43
24 *Ibid*
25 *Ep. Carn. X* Kl 113
26 *Ferishta I* p. 427
27 *Ibid*

was the capital of Ballala III. until his death in A. D. 1342. The remarks of Father Heras are noteworthy:

" There is neverthless one slight confusion in his account. Bilal Dew is alluded by Ferishta "Raja of Carnatic"; but he does not identify him with the Raja of Dwarsamoodra (Dorasamudra), for a little afterwards he speaks of an alliance between Bilal Dew, and Rājas of Mabīr and Dwar-Samoodra. *The chronicler most likely did not know that the Raja of Carnatic then, Ballala III. held his court and capital at Dwārasamudra itself.*[28]

The Rev. Father Heras has, therefore, to admit that Ferishta was ignorant of what he was writing about. Yet, he declares, "In any case, Ballala III. is said to have built the city of Vijayanagar, calling it after his son Beeja or Vijaya".[29] That is enough for him. He does not pay any heed to tradition, literature, and contemporary lithic records which unanimously attribute the building of the city to Harihara I, Bukka I, or their spiritual adviser Vidyāraṇya. He is prepared to ignore the total absence of epigraphic evidence regarding Ballāla III's building of the city. We may, however, be excused if we decline to accept the recommendation of Father Heras about the accuracy and veracity of Ferishta as a historian.

III

After an examination of Nuniz's account of the foundation of the of the city of Vijayanagar, the Rev. Father Heras rejects most of it as worthless for reasons which we do not propose to consider at present. We are, however, interested, in this connection, in what he accepts as true. He says, " One event stands out clear, and uncontradicted by other historical documents. This event is the foundation of the city of Vijayanagar by a king who had been imprisoned by the Delhi Mussalmans, taken as a prisoner to their northern capital, and then sent back to his country in the south.[30] Then he attempts to show that the monarch referred to was Ballāla III. " Does Southern Indian History," asks the Rev. Father, " commemorate any such monarch in the first half of the XIV century"[31] He answers this question in the affirmative. "Vīra Ballāla III. seems to be the king pointed out by Nūniz as the founder of the city of Vijayanagar."[32] He cites the following to prove his contention.

28 *The Beginnings of Vijayanagar History* p. 44
29 *Ibid*
30 *The Beginnings of Vijayanagar History* p. 41
31 *Ibid* pp 41—42
32 *Ibid* p 42

(1) "Ferishta relates that in the year 710 H.E, corresponding to A.D. 1310," Malik Kafur defeated "Bilal Dew, Raja of the Carnatic" "took him prisoner, and ravaged his territory."33

(2) "An inscription of Shimoga Taluka informs us that 'after the Turuka war, on the occasion of his son Vira-Ballāla-Rāya (returning) trom Diḷḷi and entering the city (on 6 May, 1313) he released the taxes old and new."34

"Ballāḷa III, therefore, was taken prisoner to Delhi, and afterwards released by the Sultan.'35

These demand careful scrutiny:—It is true that Malik Kafur took Bilal Dew prisoner; but there is nothing in Ferishta to show that "he had been taken as a prisoner to their northern capital" Delhi. Ferishta informs us that "Mallik Kafoor returned to Delhy" in 710 H.E. corresponding to A.D. 1311. "He presented the king with 312 elephants, 20,000 horses, 96000 maunds of Gold, several boxes of jewels and pearls, and other precious effects."36 Ferishta, however, does not mention any prisoner in this connection, not to speak of a distinguished person like Ballāla III. The evidence of the inscriptions also contradicts the statement that Ballāla III. had been taken as a prisoner to Delhi. In the inscriptions which are dated in 1311, 1312, and 1313 A.D., Ballāḷa III. is described as ruling the kingdom of the world in peace and happiness. Therefore, there is no support for the contention of Father Heras that Ballāḷa III. "was taken as a prisoner to Delhi."37

The Shimoga inscription which Father Heras cites to clinch his argument does not at all refer to Ballāla III. The text of the inscription runs as follows:

స్వస్తిశ్రీమత్ప్రతాపచక్రవర్త్తి హొయిసణ శ్రీ వీరబల్లాళదేవర్సరు సుఖ రాజ్యంగెయ్యుత్తమిఃరె తురకవిగ్రహాదల్లిడ్డిళి యందమక్కళు వీర బల్లాళరాయ పటణ ప్రవేశమాడురవసరదల్లి । ప్రమాది (శం) త్యరజేష్ట సుధదశమియల్లి కూడలియ రామనాథ దేవరిగె...ధారాపూర్వ మాడిద ధర్మ ॥38

Father Heras tells us that Vīra-Ballāḷa Rāya who returned from Delhi is Ballāḷa III; but this statement is not borne out by the inscription itself. Vīra-Ballāḷa-Rāya who returned from Delhi on 6th May, A.D. 1313 was not the reigning Hoysala King. It was his father called

33 *Ibid*
34 *Ibid*
35 *Ibid*
36 *Ferishta I* p. 372
37 *The Beginnings of Vijayanagara History* p. 42
38 *Ep. Carn. VII* Sh 68

Hoysana Vīra-Ballāḷa Dēvarasa who was reigning in A.D. 1313, and he made a grant in honour of the arrival of his son. Therefore, the person who returned from Delhi in 1313 was not a king but only a prince. If we accept the statement of the Rev. Father, we have to believe that the father of Ballāla III, was called Vīra-Ballāḷa Devarasa; but this view is contradicted by the inscriptions according to which the father of Ballāḷa III. was Narasimha III. The former had a son called Virūpāksha Ballāḷa. Therefore, the Vīra-Ballāla-Rāya, who, according to the present inscription, retured from Delhi in 1313 A.D. could not be Ballāla III. Again, the inscription is dated on 6th May 1313 A.D. We know from the inscriptions of Ballāḷa III that his reign cxtended from A.D. 1292 to 1342. Therefore,, Vīra-Ballāla-Dēvarasa, the donor of the inscription under consideration, should be identified with Ballāḷa III., and Vīra-Ballāḷa-Rāya who returned from Delhi with Virūpāksha Ballāḷa (the future Ballāḷa IV.) It is now evident that Vīra-Ballāḷa III could not have been the king "pointed out by Nūniz as the founder of the city of Vijayanagar." The Rev. Father Heras could not have been unaware of these facts. Why he put this strange interpretation on the text of the inscription is not quite intelligible. This, however, is not the only thing of its kind.

To prove that Hosapaṭṭaṇa is identical with Vijayanagar, Father Heras proceeds thus:—

"Now, it is a fact that the form Hosapaṭṭaṇa does not appear in in the inscriptions of Harihara I. In *one of his inscriptions* of the year 1340 found very recently Hosa-Haṁpeya Paṭṭaṇa is mentioned. Hence, Vijayanagara in the time of Harihara I was popularly called Hosa-Haṁpeyapaṭṭaṇa, New city of Hampe.[39]

It is true that in an inscription of 1340 A.D., a city called Hosa-Haṁpeya-Paṭṭaṇa is said to have been mentioned. The inscription (*Ep. No.* 102/1927)40 in which the name Hosa-Haṁpeya-paṭṭaṇa is said to appear is very much damaged, and the stone where the name occurs has peeled off in two places resulting in the disappearance of two or three letters. Consequently the name, Hosa-Haṁpeyan-Paṭṭaṇa is only a conjectural restoration by the epigraphist, who is not at all certain of the correctness of his reading. The Rev Father Heras pounces upon this guess of the epigraphist and attempts to turn it to his own advantage. In his eagerness to catch at a straw, he seems to abandon his duty as a historian. The

39 *The Beginnings of Vtjayayanagar History* 57—58

40 The inscription is referred to in the *Reginnings of Vijayanagar History* thus:—"*South Indian Epigrapy Report* 1927 p 112 No. 88" The reference is wrong the correct serial number of the inscription is 102 of 1927 The page is 113 and not 112,

inscription (*Ep. No.* 102/1927) is not "one of his (Harihara's) inscriptions,' as Father Heras would have us believe. According to the ***Report of South Indian Epigraphy***, 1927, p 113, the inscription belongs to the reign of the Hoysala king, Vira-Ballāḷa, the son of Vīra-Naṛasinga who had his head-quarters in Dorasamudra", It "mentions a *Mahāsāmanta* of the King of the name of Bommeya Nāyaka, governing the Niḍugala-*rājya*, and mentions Hosa-Haṁpeya-paṭṭāṇa." There is absolutely no reference to Harihara in it. Again, Hosa-Haṁpeya-paṭṭāṇa even if it were the correct name, could not have been the same town as Hampe; for "Hosa-Haṁpeya-paṭṭāṇa' does not mean "the New city of Hampe'; but it must be rendered as "the city of New Hampe", which could not have been the same as the Hampe on the Tungabhadra. Morover, Hosa-Hampeya-Paṭṭaṇa was included in the Nidugala-*rājya*, and in 1343 A.D. Hampe ought to have been the head-quarters of the ***Hampe-Hastināvati-rājya***. If Hampe and Hosa-Haṁpeya-Paṭṭaṇa were one and the same, the latter could not have been a provincial town in the appanage of a noble Bommeya Nāyaka of Ballāla III.'s court; for it was aleady in 1340, the capital of Harihara I. who could not have been a dependent of Bommeya-Nāyaka. Therefore, the identification of Hosa-Haṁpeya-Paṭṭaṇa with Hampe is not sound. Be that as it may. The most interesting point to be noted in this context is the daring attempt made by the Rev. Father Heras to foist this inscription (*Ep. No.* 102/1927) upon Harihara I. It is not possible for us to understand the reasons which prompted him to put the strange interpretations upon the inscriptions which have absolutely no bearing upon the subject. It may, however, he noted that they are embodied in a series of lectures which the Rev. Father has delivered 'at the University of Mysore.', for which act kindness, he publicly offers his thankfulness to Mysoreans. by publishing them in a book form![41] We refrain from suggesting any explanation.

41 *The Beginnings of Vijayanagar History:* Preface.

REVIEWS.

Jirna Vijayanagara Charitramu.

This book in simple, easy showing Telugu, is an attempt by the author Mr. Kundūri Īśwar Dutt to present the history of Vijayanagar in an impressive manner and to bring home to the mind of the stay at home Andhra, the magnificience of the "city of victory" by giving a description of its ruins. The author also adds at the beginning a chapter dealing with the origin of Vijayanagar which though a one sided discussion seems to have been well done. The historical portion is brief but serves as a very good introduction to the beginner. The author has put in many photographs of Vijayanagar ruins and the instructive value of the book is greatly enhanced thereby. We only wish that the next edition of the book would contain a fuller discussion of the several views with regard to the origin of the empire and an account of its Literary, Social and Religious development under the various dynasties. We congratulate the author for the production of a valuable introductory work on the Vijayanagar which is a subject of ever absorbing interest.

M.R.

The Kaifiyat of Tadipatri.

Though the Local Records and the other manuscripts of the Mackenzie Collection have received very little attention, some scholars think that they are not worthy and useful sources of past history. The falsity theory of the entire unreliability and unworthiness of the records of that Collection has been exposed by Dr. N. Venkata Ramaniah in his studied and valuable work "Karikāla and Trilōchana". Mr. M. Sōma śēkhara Śarma, the Editor of the work under review follows up this line and shows in a convincing way, how an intelligent study of the Local Histories known as *kaifiats*, can bring useful facts to lights. He gives at the beginning, a short account of Col. Mackenzie's method of collecting these records and discusses how the subjects covered by them differ from those of a modern Historical Records. The main concern of these local histories is the origin of the village, its Puranic or other connections, the

charities of Parīkshits or Janamējayas, the association of the locality with the residence of great sages, temples and other beneficial institutions set up by rulers of the *Kali* age and their subordinates etc., and finaly the economic distributions of land and of the village services. The village of Tāḍipatri had its origin in the time of the Vijayanagar king Prauḍha-dēva Rāya and was included in the Ganḍikōṭa Province. Yeṛa Timmā-nāyaḍu, Agent over this Province was an active partisan of Aḷiya Rāma Rāya in his usurpation of the throne of Vijayanagar. Though in the middle of the 17th century Mir Jumla was the Agent, in the time of Abu Hasan Tāna Shah of Golconda, a certain Lingappa was sent to Tāḍipatri for economic reorganisation. After the fall of the Moguls the village was included in the Cuddapah-*Subha*. During the rule of the Nabobs of Cuddapah, the Maharattas infested Tāḍipatri twice and collected *chauth* and annexed this province. Then came the rule of Haider and Tippoo, Towards the close of the 18 century the village of Tāḍpatri was included in the dominions of the Nizam and formed part of the districts ceded by him to the East India Company. Munro was the first principal Collector of the Tāḍipatri region. Mr. Sarma edits the *kaifiyat* in a well paragraphed order and with a valuable historical introduction. The booklet is of immense value for the construction of the later history of the Telugu Country. We congratulate the Editor for this laudable attempt, and hope he will bring to light many of these half-forgotten *kaifiyats*.

M. R.

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